THE HISTORIE OF TVVO THE MOSTE NOBLE CAPITAINES OF the worlde, Anniball and Scipio, of theyr dyuers battailes and victories, excedyng profitable to reade, gathered and translated into Englishe, out of Titus Liuius, and other authoures, by Antonye Cope esquier.



ANNO. M. D. XLIIII.

THO. Berthelet on this historie.

VVHO so euer desireth for to rede
Marciall prowesse, feactes of chiualrie,
That maie hym profite at tyme of nede,
Lette hym in hande take this historie,
That sheweth the sleyghtes and policie,
The wyly traynes of wyttie Anniball,
The crafty disceites, full ofte wherby
He gaue his puissaunt ennemies a falle.

¶Of woorthie stomacke, and courage valyaunt,
Of noble herte, and mannely enterprise,
Of gentleneesse, of mynde sure and constaunt,
Of gouernaunce prudent, ware, and wyse,
Shall fynde accordynge vnto his diuise
This prince Scipio, this myghty Romayne,
Whiche all for pleasure euer dydde dispyse,
In Continence a lorde and Soueraigne.

¶Lo thus maie menne playnly here beholde,
That wyly wytte, power, guyle, nor policie,
Coulde Anniball euer styll vpholde,
But that by Scipios woorthy chiualrie,
His manhode, vertue, and dedes knyghtly
He was subdued, there is no more to sayne,
And yet to speake, as trouthe wyll verifye,
There was neuer founde a better capitayne.

TO THE MOST MIGHTY AND VICTORIOVS PRINCE, AND HIS

moste redoubted sourraigne lorde, Henry the. viii. by the grace of god kyng of Englande, Fraunce, and Ireiande, defender of the faith, and of the churche of England and also of Irelande in earthe the supreme head: his right humble subiecte and seruaunt Antony Cope, praieth and wyscheth all honour and perfecte felicitee.

GR. III. BR. MUS.

That all humain actes ought to be measured by tyme, mooste excellent prince, and my moste redoubted soueraigne lorde, we are sufficiently taught by nature, by reason, by learnyng, and by experience. The first is declared by the ordinate course of the heauens, and the sterres, aswell fixed, as also the planettes mouable, in the same heuens placed, with their sundry disposicions: by whose diuers operacions, the earthe bringeth foorth hir fruites of all kyndes in due season, whiche first growe to a ripenesse, and than foloweth the decaie of the same. So that all thynges varie accordynge to the tyme. Nowe pleasaunt sommer, thanne wythered wynter. Nowe plenty full aboundance of thynges, an other tyme baraine scarcitie. &c. Reason also affirmeth the same: in so muche that wyse philosophiers put, that the generation of one thyng is the corrupcion of an other: and that nothynge maie longe endure in one state, but either encreaseth, or is empeired. Of learnyng we haue authoritees manifold. Emonge others Salomon saieth, that all thynges haue tyme. There is (saieth he) tyme of peace, and tyme of warre: tyme to be mery, and time to be sadde. By experience also it is manifest, that who so doth not take tyme in tyme, and accordyng therto tempre dispose and conueigh all his procedynges, shall noo more brynge theim to effecte, with prosperous successe, thanne the songe shalbe allowed, wherof the syngers kepe not their true tyme, but some dooe runne awaie therewith, makyng ouermuche haste, while some other dragge, comyng slowly after. The mutabilitie of tyme is so variable, it passeth awaie so swiftely,

and at length sheweth suche violence, that olde poetes willing to describe time lively, according to the verate propretie therof, doe sette it forth in the figure of a man, hauing wynges, wherwith to flight, and hauing also a great sithe in his handes, to mowe or cut downe all thinges in their appoynted seasons. And as it deuoureth and consumeth all thynges by long processe: euen so it manifesteth all thynges, be they neuer so hydden and secrete. Wherefore VERITIE is called the doughter of tyme. She hath also a sister called OCCASION, whom the saied sage poetes (vnder whose woordes, as vnder a vaile are hidden many depe misteries) wyllynge to describe, doe feigne to haue wynges on hir fete, to declare therby her swift passyng awaie. And also they feigne hir to haue all hir heare growing and hanging long downe on the forpart of hir hedde, the hynder part being smothe bare and balde: signifiyng therby, that as she cometh towarde a man, he may take sure holde of hir, by hir longe heares. But in case he mysse to take than his holde, suffryng hir to passe by hym: than is there no holde to be taken of hir behynde, but that she runneth awaie without recouerie. There is also assigned vnto hir a compaignion called REPENTANCE, whiche is nothyng so lyght of foote as is the other, whom Occasion after hir escape from a man, leaueth behynde hir, to kepe hym compaigme. Whereby is ment, that if occasion be not taken, whan she offereth hir selfe to any manne: the partie that refuseth hir offre, shall after not cease, duryng his lyfe, to forthynke his folie, in suffryng hir departure. Wherfore sens it is apparent, that the obeiyng to tyme is so necessary, whā I behold the manifold iniuries, doen to your maiestee, and to your subiectes of this your realme, by your vnnaturall and vnkind enemies on sundry parties, diuerse many waies, whiche ye haue longe suffred, and neuertheless dayly they are renewed: it is manifest and euident, that youre hyghnesse is driuen to geat by the swoorde that, whyche by force is deteyned from you, and with power to reuenge wronges wroughte of malice and vntruthe, oncelesse ye shoulde be thought, not to regarde the honour due to the imperiall maiestie of so high a prince, where Salomon in his booke entitled Ecclesiastes, vpon consideracion (as I suppose) of suche lyke matier as this, saieth: There is tyme to loue, and tyme to hate, tyme of peace, and tyme of warre: whiche sentence

the

the saied wyse man, endued by god with sapience, would neuer haue lefte vnto vs, if warre had not in some case ben both lawfull and expedient. Wherefore well ponderyng the tyme of warre to be nowe in hande, as a thynge so muche nedefull for many consideracions, I (for my poore part) thought, that I should dooe, not onely to your hyghnesse acceptable seruice, but also to all noble men, and gentilemen of the realme greate pleasure and cõmoditie, if gatheryng to gyther out of Titus Liuius, and other autours, the lyues, the policies, and the marciall actes of two the moste woorthie capitaynes, of the two moste renoumed empires of the worlde, that is to saie, of Annibal of Carthage, and Scipio of Rome, I woulde bryng the same into our englyshe toung: whereby, besyde the pleasaunt bestowyng of tyme, in the readyng therof, men also may learne bothe to dooe displeasure to theyr ennemies, and to auoyde the crafty and daungerous baites, which shall be layde for theim. The one of these capitayns, after many countreis of Spayne brought vnder subiection, to seeke honour, and to exercyse hym selfe, with his men, in feates of warre, passed the terrible mountaines to entre into Italy, through many perylous streightes and vnknowen passages, there vexyng and spoylyng the countrey with contynuall warre, by the space of xvi. yeres. Duryng whiche tyme he had many noble victories sleyng many Romaine legions with theyr valyant capytaines. The other, that is to wete, Scipio the Romain consull, being a man of no lesse courage than his ennemie, leauyng hym with his power in Italy, sailed ouer into Affrica: where vanquyshynge many friendes of the Carthaginenses, at the laste he brought Carthage to suche extremitie, that the princes therof were dryuen (for theyr onely refuge) to call Annibal home agayn to succour them: where in battaile sore foughten, Scipio ouercame Annibal and all his power, put hym to flyght, & made the empire of Carthage to be vnder tribute to Rome. The one of these capitaines was crafty, politike, peynfull, and hardy: and by subtil traines wrought his enmies muche displesure: The other was wise, chaste, liberall, and valiant: and by his vertuous courage, mixed with temperaunce, raised vp the banner of fame & honour of Rome, which before was brought lowe, and almooste to vtter desolation. And as these notable princis, with many other men of noble hertes, haue hereto-

fore trauailed, to seeke honourable renoume: euen so, many learned menne, wyllynge to auaunce theim to theyr desyres, haue in wrytyng serte forth theyr noble actes, to theyr immortall fame, and to the comfort of all that shall here or rede the same. yea the peinters haue not forgoten nor omitted on their partes, to sette foorth before mennes eies, their noble actes, thereby to stiere and to enkendle the hertes and myndes of the beholders. For who is he, that doeth not muche reioyce, in beholdyng Hercules peinted on a walle, clethed in a lyons skynne, by his mighty hande spoyled, and drawynge after hym Cerberus that hell hounde, with iii. hydous heddes, whome he had brought from the dominion of Pluto? Who doeth not reioyce to heare the conquest of the golden fliece, by Jason in the Isle of Colchos? Thus it appereth, that who so doen vertuously enbrace honourable trauaile, deserue to haue immortall fame. Emong whiche moste victorious conquerours, although your moste excellent maiestee maie without all controuersie or doubte most worthily chalenge and take the chief place, yet would not I, before your maiesties owne face, offre my selfe to be a setter out thereof, oneles the expresse veritee of your graces procedynges dyd so manifestly publysshe and declare the same, that I maie not by my so doing possybly encurre any maner suspicion of flatterie or adulation, as by comparyng the noble dedes of the forenamed great princis, vnto your moste woorthy actes, shall appere manifest. Annibal, by the helpe of the frenchemen, passed the mountaines, and after, in Italie fought three or fower notable battailes, to the great ruine of the Romaines: but they were achieued rather by crafty sleightes and policies, than by strength. In theim also he had the assured ayde of the frenche men. The citie of Tarent he wanne by treason. Capua, and many other cities, wyllyngly yelded vnto hym, whose assistence after, was muche his auauncement. On the other part, Scipio arryuyng in Affrica, founde there kynge Massanissa his olde frende, by whose helpe, valiantnesse, and conduite, he preuailed against the Carthaginenses, and subdued kyng Syphax. These thynges seemed than to men so notable, that emong others, my chief authour Titus Liuius, to auaunce the renoume of them, wrote thereof a noble and goodly historie. But who so beholdeth the conduite of your gracis warres, in Spayne, Fraunce,

Bri-

Britayne, & Scotland, and in euery of these more then ones or twise achieued without the aide of any forain prince, the dangerous and stronge cities and castelles scaled, the power of Fraunce in one daie ouerthrowen: And about the same tyme a lyke victorie of Scottes inuadyng this realme, with theyr kyng slayné in playne fielde: shall fynde the triumph thereof muche more woorthy of glorie, thanne any that euer Liuius wrote vpon. For it is not vnknowen, that thynges nowe be muche harder to be achieued, than they were in those dayes: the artillary more perillous, the armour more sure, and the castelles more strong: In so muche that the winnyng of Tirwyn or Mortlace, is muche more to be estemed, than the winnyng of Capua or Carthage. I wille omitte to reherse, that the emperour Maximilian, hearyng the fame of your hyghnesse power and excellence, desyred to be of youre maiesties bande, and vnder your baner in the fielde agaynst the frenchemen. I wyll also leaue to reherse the wyse and woorthy conquest of the realme of Irelande, wherof at this present your maiestee weareth the Diademe. Neither will I tary to declare the sundry and moste lucky victories, that your hyghnes hath of late had agaynst the promisse breakers the double dealynge Scottes. Furthermore, partely for breuitie, and partely for that the thyng beeyng so lately dooen, neither the bruite nor the memory therof can not but be so freshe, that it were much superfluous here now to recite the same, I haue thought best wholly to omitte the long recitall of your late most noble, politike, and myghty conquest of Bollayne, neuer heretofore by any prince subdued, no scarcely by any approched vnto, but lefte as a thynge inuincible, and therefore called the mayden towne, the hystory wherof requireth the lengthe of a longe volume, if it shall be fully chronicled. But sens of all others that euer wer, Hercules is accoumpted mooste woorthy the crowne of honourable prayse, as the chief daunter of monsters: I will nowe with his conquestes compare your moste famous subdaynge of the Romayne monster Hydra, whose heddes wer so many, and the lest of theim so pestylent, that it is to be thought, he could neuer (without the great assistence of the diuine power) haue been subdued. Those his heddes, by the moste circumspect wisedome and prouidence of youre highnes, be almost cleane cutte of, and mortified, the venomous

mous styng of ignorance plucked awaie, and his power suppressed: so that the walles of his denne of Rome tremble, beholdyng your cristall shielde of prudence: whiche conquest I maie well calle so muche more woorthie of renoume, than those of Hercules, by howe muche the soule of man is to be estemed aboue the bodie, or any earthly gooddes. Hercules onely delyuered countreys from the bodily vexation of monsters and tyrantes: your maiestie dooeth ease your subiectes bothe in bodie and goodes, but chiefly in their soules, by the true knowlege of god and his moste holy woorde. So that in my hert I wyshe Liuius to be on lyue agayn, not doubtynge, but he that toke suche peyne to describe the actes of your inferiours, Annibal and Scipio, would muche more nowe trauaille, to blowe foorth your mighty magnificence and vertuous enterprises with the loude trumpette of immortall fame and memorie. Furthermore the actes of Hercules be moste sette forthe by poetes, who (as it is thoughte) haue feigned many thinges more than the trueth was: but of your highnes actes, that ar our english Hercules, no man doth or can doubt, they are so well knowen, euen of your ennemies to their peines. Wherfore I truste, whan tyme shall come, god will not faille to prouide an excellente chronicler, to sette foorthe the moste glorious actes of your roiall maiestie, that are his verie true champion: rewarding your worldly conquestes here, with perpetuall renoume and glorie, and after this lyfe (which almyghty god graunt for our benefite, to be veraie longe) remuneratyng your graces godly mynde, intent, and trauailes in his causes, with the incorruptible crowne of immortalitie and felicitee eternall bothe of soule and bodie.

The description of Annibal, & of his fyrst exercise in warre. ca. i.
¶ Of Annibals fyrst warres and victorie. Cap. ii.
¶ Annibal besiegeth the Saguntines, and howe he was there sore wounded. Cap. iii.
¶ The comyng of the Romayn ambassadours to Annibal and Carthage, and what answere they had of hym and theim. Cap. iiii.
¶ Howe Sagunt was cruelly conquered. Cap. v.
¶ How the Romain ambassadours sent to Carthage, and from thens into Spayne, spedde. Cap. vi.
¶ Howe Annibal renewynge the warre conducted his armye into Fraunce, to passe the mountaynes. Cap. vii.
¶ Howe Annibal passed the riuer of Rhodanus, put the frenchemen to flyght, refused to fight with the consull of Rome, and with what woordes he couraged his souldiors to passe the mountaine. Ca. viii.
¶ How and with what labour, peyn, & excedyng great daūgier, Annibal & his army passed ouer the high moūtains Alpes into Italy. cap. ix.
¶ How both the armies of Rome & Carthage approched, & the oratiō that P. L. Scipio the consul made to encourage his men to fight. ca. x.
¶ With what exaumples and woordes Annibal exhorted his souldiours to fyght valyantly. Cap. xi.
¶ Howe Scipio and Annibal mette by chaunce, and fought togither and howe the consull was hurt, and Annibal victour. Cap. xii.
¶ Howe Annibal fought with Sempronius the consul, and by what meanes he put the Romayns to flyght. Cap. xiii.
¶ Annibal intendyng to take a certayn castell by stelthe, was encountred by the consull, wounded, and put to the wurse, and after a great slaughter of the people he wonne Victumulas. And howe Cn. Scipio in Spayne ouerthrewe Hanno in battayle. Cap. xiiii.
¶ How Annibal passed the daungerous fennes neere to the ryuer of Arnus, to the great losse of his men and cattail, where the fenny aire caused hym to lose one of his eies. And of the haste that Flamminius the Consull maketh to gyue hym battayle. Cap. xv.
¶ Of the battayle of Trasymenus, with the deathe of the Consulle Flammintius, and many other Romayns. Cap. xvi.
¶ Howe Annibal by a crafty deceite escaped the straites of Formiana, wherin he was enclosed by Q. Fabius Maximus. Cap. xvii.
¶ Cneius Scipio fyghteth with Hasdrubal and Himilco, on the sea, vpon the costes of Spayne, dryueth theim to lande, taketh and distroyeth. xxv. shippes, with a great numbre of the Carthaginenses. Ca. xviii
¶ How Abdor, a Spaniard, by treson conueid the pledges of Spayn frō the Carthaginenses, and deliuered them to the Romains. Ca. xix.
¶ Fabius beyng at Rome in displeasure, Minutius master of the horsemen fyghteth with Annibal, putteth hym to the wurs, and therfore is made half ruler of the host with Fabius, he fyghteth with him agayne, and is put to flyght, and rescued by Fabius. Cap. xx.

¶ Of Lucius Aemilius Paulus, and C. Terentius Varro consulles, and the oration of Q. Fabius Maximus to Paulus, before his departyng from Rome towarde his hoste. Capit. xxi.
¶ Of the perillous battaile of Cannas, and the victory that Annibal had there of the Romaynes. Cap. xxii.
¶ How Annibal ordered his busynesse after the battaile, and howe young Scipio vsed him selfe for the sauyng of the cõen weith. ca. xxiii.
¶ The oration of the captiue prisoners made to the senate for theyr redemption. Cap. xxiiii.
¶ The sore answere of T. Manlius Torquatus to the captiues oration, wherin he dissuaded their redemption. Cap. xxv.
¶ How Pacuuius by craft became chiefe rular of Capua, and of the yeldyng of that citie to Annibal. Cap. xxvi.
¶ The newes that Mago brought to Carthage of Annibals victories in Italy, and the oration of Hanno a senatour of Carthage made vnto the same. Cap. xxvii.
¶ Of the battayle betwene Marcellus and Annibal before the citie of Nola, and of Anniballes wyntrynge in Capua, in delycate pleasures, wherby he withdrue the hartes and courages of his men from all warrelyke faccion. Cap. xxviii.
¶ Of the long siege and wynnyng of Casilinum, with the death and distruction of the consull Posthumius and his hoste in the woode of Lytana by the craft of the Frenchemen. Cap. xxix.
¶ Of the victory of the Scipions in Spayne. Cap. xxx.
¶ The oration of the Saunnites and the Hirpines to Annibal, declaryng his helpe agaynste the Romaynes with the order of Marcellus and Annibal about Nola. Cap. xxxi.
¶ The exhortation of Annibal to his souldiours, the batayl betwene hym and Marcellus, & the victories of the Scipios in Spayn. ca. xxxii.
¶ The oration of Quintus Fabius Maximus, touchyng the election of the consulles in that daungerous season. Cap. xxxiii.
¶ The battayle betwene Hanno and Gracchus, with the reward and also the punyshement awarded by Gracchus to certayne bondemenne of his hoste. Cap. xxxiiii.
¶ The cities of Sagunt in Spayn, and Arpos in Italy ar wonne by the Romaines, kyng Syphax is become frende to the Romayns, and is ouercome in battayle by Massanissa. Cap. xxxv.
¶ Annibal through the treason of Nico and Philomenes, wynneth the citie of Tarent. Cap. xxxvi.
¶ Fulvius Flaccus the Romayne consulle, wynneth the campe of Hanno, sleeth and taketh a great numbre of men with a ryche praie. Mago sleeth Titus Gracchus, and many Romaynes, throughe the treason of Flauius a Lucan. Cap. xxxvii.
¶ Centenius Penula and Cneius Fulvius with theyr two armies be discomfyted and slayne by Annibal in seuerall battailes. Ca. xxxviii.
¶ The citie of Capua is besieged by the two consulles, Annibal cõmeth

meth to the succour of the citezens, gyueth the consuls battayle, from thens goeth to Rome warde with his hoste, to the intent thereby to drawe the consuls from the siege of Capua. Cap. xxxix.
¶ The oration of Virius Virius concernyng the yeldyng of Capua, the Romaines receiue the towne, slea the senatours, and conuerte the grounde therof to the profite of the citie of Rome. Cap. xl.
¶ Marcellus wynneth the citie of Syracusa in Sicilia, P. Scipio and Cneius Scipio are slayne in Spayne with a greatte noumbre of Romaynes. Cap. xli.
¶ A. Martius is chosen capitayne of the Romaine armye, he maketh an oration to his souldiours, and in one nyght and a daie vanquisheth two hostes of Carthaginenses, winneth their campes, and a greatte praie. Capit. xlii.
¶ Howe Aldrubal beeyng enclosed in the straites besyde Gentilla, escaped the daunger thereof by mockyng his ennemies: and of the choling of yong P. Cor. Scipio to be capitain in Spayn. Capi. xliii.
¶ The oration of Scipio to his souldiours in Spayne, after his comynge thyther. Cap. xliiii.
¶ The citie of newe Carthage in Spayne is wonne by the Romans, with a great praie of golde syluer & all other necessaries for the warre, with the pledges of the noble men and cities of Spayne. Cap. xlv.
¶ Of the sentinelle of Scipio in restoryng a fayre yong virgin vndefiled to Lucius, vnto whom she was sianced. Cap. xlvi.
¶ Annibal sleeth Cn. Fulvius, with. xiii. M. Romaines, besyde Herdonea: Marcellus the consull chaseth Annibal thyough Apulia, makyng many skyrmyshes with hym. Cap. xlvii.
¶ Marcellus gyueth battayle to Annibal, in whiche his men be put to flyght, wherupon he maketh them a sharpe oration, he reneweth the battaile on the morowe, putteth Annibal and his host to flyght, with losse of many of his menne. Cap. xlviii.
¶ Howe Q. Fabius Maximus recouered from Annibal the citie of Tarent. Cap xlix.
¶ Scipio fyghteth with Aldrubal besyde Betula, dryueth hym from his hyll, sleeth. viii. M. of his hoste, taketh. xu. M. prisoners, with Vassus neuew to Vassanilla, and a great pray in the campe. cap. l.
¶ Marcellus the consull is slayn by an imbushment layd by Annibal, Crispinus the other consull, and Marcellus sonne be sore hurt. ca. li.
¶ Annibal craftily sendeth letters to Galapia, sealed with Marcellus signet. Aldrubal passeth the mountaines with his army, to mete his brother Annibal. capi. lii.
¶ Of the great battayle betwene Aldrubal and the consulles, in whiche Aldrubal was slayne with. lvi. M. men, besyde many that were taken, with a great spoyle. Cap. liii.
¶ Scipio in dyuers battayles discomfiteth the Carthaginenses, taketh Hanno on lyue, dryueth Aldrubal and Mago, with all theyr power, cleane out of Spayne. cap. liiii.

¶ Q. Liuius. and L. Nero the consulles, entre the citie of Rome in triumph. Apraise of Annibals gouernyng his army. Capi. iv.
¶ Scipio and Aldzuball arriue both in one daie in Affrica, and be lodged bothe togyther in the palays of kyng Syphax. cap. lvi.
¶ Wallanilla speaketh secretely with Scipio, & entreth in leage with the Romans: Wago saileth into Italy to ioyne with Annibal. ca. lvii.
¶ Scipio cometh to Rome, and is create one of the consulles, he desireth to haue licence, to saile into Affrica with an army. cap. lviii.
¶ The oration of Fabius, disswadyng Scipio from saylyng into Affrica, and wylling him to defende Italy agaynst Annibal. cap. lix.
¶ The oration of Scipio, wherin he answereth to Fabius. cap. lx.
¶ The complaynt of the Locrenses to the senatours of the cruell gouernaunce of Q. Pleminius. cap. lxi.
¶ kyng Syphax marieth Aldzuballes daughter, he writeth to Scipio, wylyng hym not to warre in Affrica: Scipio arriueth in Affrica, to whom cometh Wallanilla. cap. lxii.
¶ Scipio in the nyght burneth his enemies campes, putteth Syphax and Hasdzuball to flyght, with great losse of theyr men. cap. lxiii.
¶ Syphax renewyth the battayle, where he is taken prisoner. Wallanilla taketh the citie of Cirtha, & marieth king Syphax wife. cap. lxiiii.
¶ Syphax is brought to Scipio, Wallanilla sendyth to Sophonisba poyson, whiche she without feare dzynketh. capi. lxv.
¶ Lelius with kyng Syphax and other prisoners cometh to Rome: Wallanilla is made kyngof Numidia. cap. lxvi.
¶ Wago is discomfited, and wounded, of whiche wounde he dieth. Annibal being cõmanded of the senate to leaue Italy, sayleth toward Carthage, makyng great dole for his departyng. cap. lxvii.
¶ Annibal arriueth in Affrica, desireth to speake with Scipio, who graunteth him, and they mete togither at a place appointed. cap. lxviii.
¶ The witty oration that Annibal made to Scipio, before the battayle betweene theim. cap. lxix.
The answere of Scipio to Annibals oration, with the battaile had betwene them, wherin Annibal was vanquished & put to flyght. ca. lxx.
The conditions of peace graunted to the Carthaginenses by Scipio, and the ratifyng of the same by the senate. ca. lxxi.
Scipio retourneth to Rome with greate triumph and ioye of all the people. cap. lxxii.
Annibal flieth to Antiochus kyng of Syria, Antiochus moueth warre to the Romans L. Cor. Scipio saileth into Asia, and vanquisheth him, graunteth him peace vpon conditions, and returneth to Rome. ca. lxxiii.
Annibal flieth to Prusias, the kynge of Bithynia, and howe he ended his lyfe. capi. lxxiiii.

Thus endeth the Table.

THE DESCRIPTION OF HANNIBAL, and of his fyrste exercyse in warre. Cap. I.



FTER MANY GREAT AND PE-rillous batailes fought betwene the Romaines and the Carthaginenſes, at the laſt a peace was taken for certaine yeres: duryng whiche tyme Amilcar than capitayne of the army of Carthage, warred fiue yeres continually in Affrica, with the cities and countreyes adioynynge to Carthage. And from thens he paſſed the ſea with his army into Spayn: where he abode. ix. yeres, in whiche tyme he meruaylouſely increaſed and inlarged the dominion of Carthage. This Amilcar was father to Hannibal, whyche at his faylynge into Spayne, was but. ix. yeres of age: but yet his hart and courage was ſuche, that he neuer ceaſſed, tyll he had with fayre and pleaſant wordes opteined lycence of his father, to goo with hym into Spayne. And at his departyng on a ſolemne day whan his father dyd ſacrifice in the Temple, accordynge to the vſe and ceremonye than vſed, yonge Hannibal beinge there preſent, layinge his handes on the holy aultar of the Temple, ſware and auowed, that from thensforth he wolde become a deadly ennemy to the Romayns, and that he wolde vtter the ſame his malice on them as ſoone as he were able. This othe and vowe pleaſed wel his father Amilcar. For his intent was ſhortly after to moue the Carthaginēſes to warre with the Romaines, but he dyed ſoone after: whoſe deathe, with the tender age of his ſonne Hannibal ſtayed that enterpryſe, and cauſed the peace to endure betwene them. viii. yeres longer. Duryng whiche tyme one Aſdruball, that maried the daughter of Amilcar, gouerned the army, a man of great wyſedome and policy. For he by his gentyll entertaynyng of princis, and frendly handlyng of his neighbours, more than by batayle, brought many cities vnder the obedience of Carthage. Whoſe facion, in gettyng of frendes, whan the Romaynes perceiued, they ſent vnto hym: and renewyng their olde amitie, entred into a newe league, for the more ſure and ſtable conſeruation wherof, they determined to ſet metes and boundes of both their empires. Wherfore they agreed, that

the ryuer of Iberus shuld depart their two seigniories. Further, that the Saguntines (a people that dwelled betwene both theyr dominions, and were then in amitie and league with the Romaines) shulde continue in peace and be at libertie, not troubled nor oppressed by warre of nother partie. This peace beyng concluded, Hasdruball, that hartily loued Hanniball, sent his letters, and for his sake, caused the counsell of Carthage to be moued, to lycence Hanniball, beyng than a freshe yong man, to exercise him selfe in warre to the intent, when he were of lawfull age, he myght optayne, both the rule and richesse, that were his fathers. Wherevnto the mooste parte of the Senatours agreed. Whervpon Hannibal was incontinent sent into Spaine, to be Capitaine there vnder Asdruball. At his fyrst commyng he gate the fauour of al the armie, and so resembled his father in al pointes, that the olde souldiours supposed Amilcar that was dead, to be restored ageine to them aliue. And in short space he brought to passe, that his father was not to be compared vnto him, in wynnyng the hartes of people. He excelled so in wisedome, policie, and feates of warre, that whan the Capitayne wolde haue any weighty matier enterprised, he wolde to him aboue all other cõmitte the charge therof. He so ordred hym selfe, both in obeying his capitayn, and rulyng his souldiours, that it was harde to knowe, whether he was better beloued of his capytayne or of his hooste. He was of an hyghe courage in ieopardynge on any peryll, and of noo lesse counsaile in auoyding the same. His body and mind coulde with no labour be wered or ouercomme: he coulde as well susteyne heate as colde: of meates and drynkes he vsed none excesse, but that wolde suffice nature: he prescribed no tyme to reste or slepe by nyghte nor by daye. And whan he myght from busynes conueniently rest, he desired neyther soft beddes, nor quiet slepes, but being couered with a shorte cloke or souldiours garment, he wolde repose him vpon the harde earthe. He was not curious in garmentes: In pleasant horses and sure armour was alwayes his delite. Among all the army on horse backe and on fote he was founde the best, he wolde be euer the fyrst and the last in battail: Which his noble vertues lacked not dyuers vyces to accompany theym. For in stede of mercie and pitie, he vsed extreme crueltie, mixte with vn-

feyth-

feithfulnes, he regarded not the obſeruyng of his othe, whi-che was to his great diſhonour.

¶ Of Hannibals fyrſt warres and victory. Cap. ii.



VHAN THIS YONG capitayn had thus exercyſed hym ſelfe vnder Aſdruball the ſpace of .iii. yeres, it chaunced that one of that countrey (whoſe mayſter Aſdruball before had ſlayne) ſodeynly ranne on hym, and ſlewe hym. Wherupon beinge taken he nother changed countenance nor feared any punyſhement that ſhuld come to hym therfore: but with ſmi-lyng countenance receyued his deathe. Than the ſouldiours of the army after the loſſe of Aſdruball immediately by one conſent choſe Hannball to be theyr gouernour. And he ap-poynting to warre agaynſt the Romayns, and Italy to be his prouince, thought he wold not long ſtay or tracte the tyme in ouermoch deliberating theron: leſt therby it myght chance vn to hym, as it dyd vnto his father & Haſdrubal, to be oppreſſed by ſome other myſchance, intēded to moue warre to the Sa-guntines before reherſed. And to colour his intent, he fyrſte led his army into the coſtes of Olcades, a people of Spayne beyonde the ryuer of Iberus, neighbour to the Saguntines, to thende it ſhuld ſeme, that he of purpoſe or by any pretence of warre dyd not ſeke to inuade the Saguntines, but wynning the countreys adioynyng togyther, he ſhulde alſo take Sa-gunt with hym as it laye in his way in order with the other. Amonge theſe he wanne the citie called Carteia that was ve-ry riche, whiche citie beinge ſubdued, the ſmalle townes ad-iacent wyllyngly ſubmitted them ſelues to be vnder tribute. This done he for the wynter tyme, withdrue his armye to a citie in Spayne called newe Carthage. And with diſtributing largely to his ſouldiours the pray before gotten, and welpay-ing of euery mans wages that was behynde, he wonne the hartes of all the hoſte. So that they holly agreed the nexte ſommer folowynge to warre vppon the Vacceis. Whiche warres brought to paſſe and ended, as they retourned, not farre from the ryuer of Tagus, the banyſſhed people of the

treys afore sayde, assembled togyther, and reysed the Carpe-
tanes, by whose helpe they were to the numbre of a hundred
thousande, and trustyng to theyr great multitude, came new-
ly vpon the Carthaginenses. Annibal perceyuing that great
power commyng vpon hym, absteyned from batayle, and pri-
uily in the nyght conueyed his a[illegible]y ouer a fourde, and from
thense withdrue his people a good space of: so that his ene-
mies myght haue place to come ouer the ryuer. Than set he
xl. elephantes alonge the ryuer syde, that they myght be re-
dy to oppresse them at the entryng of the water. Also he cō-
maunded his horsemen, that as soone as the footemen were
entred the water, they shulde fiersly assayle them. The Car-
petanes with the Vacceis and Carteians thynkyng theyr en-
nemies for feare to be fledde from theym, and intendynge to
pursue them, without any foresyght or order, with all spede,
makyng great clamour, euery man rashely toke his next way
through the water. Hannibals horsmen perceyuing that they
were entred the fourde, violently ranne on them, and with li-
tell peyne ouerthrewe a great number of their fotemen in the
water, whiche thyng was easy to doo, for a footeman in the
strength of the streame coulde in no wyse susteyne the force
of a horseman, onely the rushe of the horse, though the ry-
der be vnarmed, is able to ouerthrowe any foteman: so feble
is the stay of his fote in the water. Thus some were drow-
ned, and some other that passed ouer the ryuer, were oppres-
sed with the elephantes, so that in shorte space they were all
vtterly discomfyted and ouercome. For before that those,
whiche last entred the ryuer (though they escaped the dan-
ger of the horsemen) coulde recule backe agayn to lande, and
assemble togyther, and set them selfe in aray, Annibal with a
freshe band of men entred the water, and so quyckly folowed
and chased them, that fewe escaped. Whervpon shortly after
he conquered al the Carpetanes, and broughtthem vnder sub
iection of Carthage. And thā all the borderers beyonde the
water Iberus, holly became tributaries to Carthage, sauyng
only the Sagūtines, with whom as thā they had not medled,
but diuers quarels were pycked by their neyghbours, to get
some occasion to warre ageynste them. And that perceiued
well the Saguntines. Wherfore to preuent the matter, they
sent messangers to Rome, to require succours in the warres
that they vndoutedly loked for.

Han-

¶ Annibal beſiegeth the Saguntines, and howe he was there ſoore wounded. Cap. iii.



The ſame yere that the Ambaſſadours were ſent to Rome, Publius Cornelius Scipio, & Titus Sempronius Lõgus were conſulo, and whã this matter was waied in the ſenate hous with many other, cõcerning the cõmon welth, Publius Ualerius Flaccus, and Quintus Fabius Pamphilus, were choſen ambaſſadours to go to Annibal, with gentyl perſwaſions to withdraw him from warres with the Saguntines theyr frendes: whiche if they coulde nat do, that than they ſhulde go to Carthage to Haſdruball the capitayne, chargynge hym vpon peyne of the truce breakyng, to ceſſe and take vp the warres.

¶ Whyles the Romaynes prepared theyr legacies, and ordered theyr affayres, Annibal forſlowyng no tyme conuenient to his buſynes, with his army ſpoylyng and waſtynge the countreye, approched and fierſely aſſayled the citie of Sagunt on thre partes. This citie was named the rycheſt that was beyonde the ryuer of Iberus: It ſtode not paſſynge a myle from the ſea: and was in ſhort ſpace ſo mightily increaſed by reaſon of the commodities of the water, the fruites of the lande, and multitude of people, that they excelled all the cities and countreyes aboute theym bothe in number and rycheſſe. When Annibal hadde cyrcumſpectly viewed the walles, he founde a corner, from the whyche dydde extende a fayre playne valeye, vnto the whyche corner he layde his ſiege, reyſynge vp certayne engyns of defence, for the ſafegard of his people, tyll they myght approche the walles, and caryenge other ingyns to gyue aſſaute and to beate downe the walles. But bycauſe the fayre playne without that corner, made that ſyde to be in mooſte ieopardye: the citezens therfore had buylded the walles on that parte hygher than the other ſydes. There was alſoo buylded at that corner a myghty high towre, the ſtrength wherof letted Annibal to lay his ſiege to the towne as he wold haue done: Notwithſtandyng he by reaſon of his engyns, gaue ſo ſharpe aſſaulte, that the cytezens beinge vppon the walles were greately abaſſhed, who at the ſame aſſaulte, not onely defended theyr

walles manfully, but also couragiously issued out of the towne and assayled their ennemies, and breakyng downe theyr munimentes and fortifications, entred the towne ageyn welnere to as great losse of their ennemies as of their owne people. Whyche thynge whan Annibal perceiued, he sodaynly without aduysement approched to the walles, and was stryken with a barbed iauelyn in the thygh, so that sooze wounded he felle to the grounde. Whan his people sawe hym falle, there was suche feare and clamour amonge them, that they cleane gaue ouer the assaute, so that they suffred the towne to be in reste tyll theyr capitayne was healed. Durynge whiche time of rest from battayle, the citizens were not vnoccupied. For they fortified them selfe the more strongly, for that they perceyued the assautes to come shulde be more fierce and perilous. Whan Hannibal was cured of his wounde, the siege and warre became more deadly and terrible than before. The Carthaginens dayly increased, they were to the noumber of Cl. M. who with theyr engins bet downe the walles of Sagunt to the ground in dyuers partes: so that they semed sundry tymes to haue won the citie: but they within, where the walles lacked, with strengthe of men defended it. And thus sometyme hope, and sometyme dispayre enforced bothe partes to do theyr vttermost.

¶ The commyng of the Romayne ambassadours to Hannibal and Carthage, and what answere they had of hym and theym. Capit. iiii.

IN the meane season of this longe contynued warre, very doubtful and variable on both partes, worde came to Hannibal, that the Romain Legates were come: Unto whome he sente a messanger, to shewe theym, that there was ieopardy in passing through so perillous and doutfull battayles of straunge and wylde nations: And hym selfe was so intricate with busyneſſe, that he coulde not attende to speake with them, or to here their legacy. The ambassadours heryng this answere departed towardes Carthage, as they were commaunded. Whiche thyng Hannibal perceyuynge, sent letters to the senate and princes of Carthage, that were

his

frendes, wyllynge theym ſo to induce the people, that they ſhulde in no wyſe ſhewe fauour to the Romaines. So that it came to paſſe, that as they coulde not be receyued of Hanniball, euen ſoo theyr ambaſſage was voyde at Carthage. For whan Hanno, a man of great authoritie, had opened in the ſenate, the peryll and ieopardy of the truce breakyng, and the vengeance whiche might folowe vpon the ſame: and perſwaded, that it ſhuld be neceſſary, that Hanniball, ſhulde be yelded to the Romaynes, for amendes of the truce breakynge: His oration being fynyſhed, the hole ſenate, more inclynynge to the vniuſte enterpryſe of Hanniball than to any reaſonable perſwaſion to the contrarye, eſtemed hym to haue ſpoken more vnfrendly than the legates of Rome. Wherupon they anſwered the ambaſſadours, that Hanniball had done nothing but iuſtely, and that the Romayns dyd wronge in takyng part with the Saguntynes agaynſt theym of Carthage, beynge theyr olde frendes. And thus whyles the Romaynes ſente theyr ambaſſadours to and fro, Hanniball ceaſſed not, but whan his weary ſouldiours releued them ſelfes of theyr peines and trauayle, to encourage his men againſt his ennemies, ſometyme with hope of victory, ſometyme with hope of the ryche pray: ſo that they were in ſuche wyſe encouraged and ſtered, that they thought nothyng able to reſyſte them. And contrarywyſe the Saguntines were no leſſe carefull and diligent to repayre their broken walles, and to prouide thinges to make reſiſtence. Hanniball, who neuer ceſſed, but beinge ſtyll occupied with inuention of ſubtiltie and craſte, commanded a hygh towre of tymber ſo to be made, that it myghte be remoued to euery part of the walles at his pleaſure. Whiche whan it was fynyſhed, he furnyſhed with croſſebowes and other ordynance, wherwith he bette the defenders frome the walles. Than incontinent he ſent. v. C. Affricanes, with pikeaxes and inſtrumentes to vndermyne and breake downe the walles, whiche was very eaſye to brynge to paſſe with ſuche tooles. The walles were of the olde rude makyng, not layde with lyme and ſande, but with clay and blacke morter. Wherfore they had ſoone ouerthrowen a great part of the walles, at whiche breache the Carthaginenſes entred, and came to a hygh place of the citie, whiche they garnyſhed with all kyn-

des

walles manfully, but alſo couragiouſly iſſued out of the towne and aſſayled their ennemies, and breakyng downe theyr mu-nimentes and fortifications, entred the towne agayn welnere to as great loſſe of their ennemies as of their owne people. Whyche thynge whan Annball perceiued, he ſodaynly with out aduyſement approched to the walles, and was ſtryken with a barbed iauelyn in the thygh, ſo that ſoore wounded he felle to the grounde. Whan his people ſawe hym falle, there was ſuche feare and clamour amonge them, that they cleane gaue ouer the aſſaute, ſo that they ſuffred the towne to be in reſte tyll theyr capitayne was healed. Durynge whiche time of reſt from battayle, the citizens were not vnoccupied. For they fortified them ſelfe the more ſtrongly, for that they per-ceyued the aſſautes to come ſhulde be more fierce and peril-lous. Whan Hannibal was cured of his wounde, the ſiege and warre became more deadly and terrible than before. The Carthaginens dayly increaſed, they were to the noumber of Cl. M. who with theyr engins bet downe the walles of Sa-gunt to the ground in dyuers partes: ſo that they ſemed ſun-dry tymes to haue won the citie: but they within, where the walles lacked, with ſtrengthe of men defended it. And thus ſometyme hope, and ſometyme diſpayre enforced bothe par-tes to do theyr vttermoſt.

¶ The commyng of the Romayne ambaſſadours to Han-nibal and Carthage, and what anſwere they had of hym and theym. Capit. iii.

IN the meane ſeaſon of this longe contynued warre, very doubtful and variable on both par-tes, worde came to Hannibal, that the Romain Legates were come: Unto whome he ſente a meſſanger, to ſhewe theym, that there was ieo-pardy in paſſing through ſo perillous and dout-full battayles of ſtraunge and wylde nations: And hym ſelfe was ſo intricate with buſyneſſe, that he coulde not attende to ſpeake with them, or to here their legacy. The ambaſſadours heryng this anſwere departed towardes Carthage, as they were commaunded. Whiche thyng Hannibal perceyuynge, ſent letters to the ſenate and princes of Carthage, that were

his

frendes, wyllynge theym ſo to induce the people, that they ſhulde in no wyſe ſhewe fauour to the Romaynes. So that it came to paſſe, that as they coulde not be receyued of Hannibball, euen ſoo theyr ambaſſage was voyde at Carthage. For whan Hanno, a man of great authoritie, had opened in the ſenate, the perylll and ieopardy of the truce breakyng, and the vengeance whiche might folowe vpon the ſame: and perſwaded, that it ſhuld be neceſſary, that Hanniball, ſhulde be yelded to the Romaynes, for amendes of the truce breakynge: His oration being fynyſhed, the hole ſenate, more inclynynge to the vniuſte enterpryſe of Hannball than to any reaſonable perſwaſion to the contrarye, eſtemed hym to haue ſpoken more vnfrendly than the legates of Rome. Wherupon they anſwered the ambaſſadours, that Hannball had done nothing but iuſtely, and that the Romayns dyd wronge in takyng part with the Saguntynes agaynſt theym of Carthage, beynge theyr olde frendes. And thus whyles the Romaynes ſente theyr ambaſſadours to and fro, Hannball ceaſſed not, but whan his weary ſouldiours releued them ſelfes of theyr peines and trauayle, to encourage his men againſt his ennemies, ſometyme with hope of victory, ſometyme with hope of the ryche pray: ſo that they were in ſuche wyſe encouraged and ſtered, that they thought nothyng able to reſyſte them. And contrarywyſe the Saguntines were no leſſe carefull and diligent to repayre their broken walles, and to prouide thynges to make reſiſtence. Hannibball, who neuer ceſſed, but beinge ſtyll occupied with inuention of ſubtiltie and craſte, commanded a hygh towre of tymber ſo to be made, that it myghte be remoued to euery part of the walles at his pleaſure. Whiche whan it was fynyſhed, he furnyſhed with croſſebowes and other ordynance, wherwith he bette the defenders frome the walles. Than incontinent he ſent. v. C. Affricanes, with pikeaxes and inſtrumentes to vndermyne and breake downe the walles, whiche was very eaſye to brynge to paſſe with ſuche tooles. The walles were of the olde rude makyng, not layde with lyme and ſande, but with clay and blacke morter. Wherfore they had ſoone ouerthrowen a great part of the walles, at whiche breache the Carthaginenſes entred, and came to a hygh place of the citie, whiche they garnyſhed with all kyndes

des of ordynances, and made a wall about the same, makynge it as a castell or fortresse for them within the citie. Notwithstandinge the Saguntines, with as great shyfte as myght be, made countermures in the towne, and defended theym selfe: and saued those partes that were not gotten as it myght be. But in shorte space they were so beaten, that they wyste not where to defende. Thus the Saguntines defendyng the inwarde partes of theyr towne, loste dayely more and more of theyr citie. Vitayles also fayled theym sore, by reason of the longe siege. Agayne, the expectation of theyr succours was in payne, bycause the Romaynes, theyr onely hope, were soo farre of. Notwithstandyng they were a lyttell comforted, by reason that Annibal was so sodaynly sent for to go against the Oretanes and Carpetanes, whiche than were raised agayne, and beganne to rebelle, but their warre in the meane tyme semed nothing the lesse, by reason of one Maharball, Himilcos sonne, who kepte the siege so streightly, that it semed the capitayne was not absent.

¶ Whan Annibal was retourned from the Carpetanes and Oretanes warre, the battayle beganne more strongely than before. Duringe whyche tyme, two souldiours, one named Alcon a Sagūtine, and the other called Alorcus a Spaniard, hauyng some hope of peace, determined to moue Annibal to the same. Alcon the Saguntine was brought before Annibal, who shewed vnto hym, what they shulde do, if they intended to haue peace. Whiche conditions of peace semed vnto Alcon very vnreasonable. Wherfore thinkyng that the Saguntines wold in no case agree vnto the same: he remained there styll, and wolde not retourne agayne to his citie, affirmynge, that he were worthy to dye, that vnder such couenātes wold treate of peace. Whan Alcon had denied, that the Saguntines wold receyue any suche truce, Alorcus aforesayd, beinge a souldiour of Annibals, and an olde frende to the Saguntines, supposyng that theyr myndes myght be perswaded to receyue the conditions of peace, seing their walles so weake, and their towne so easy to be wonne, promised to declare vnto them the contentes of the truce. He deliuering his weapon to the capitaynes of theyr ennemies, was brought to the Pretor Saguntine: and so into the senate, where, whan the multitude of the commons was a lytell withdrawen, thus he began

beganne his oration.

¶ If your citezyn and meſſanger Alcon, that came to Annibal to require peace, had lykewiſe broughte from hym vnto you the conditions of the ſame, my cõmyng nowe had ben in vayne. Which thing if he had done, I ſhuld nother as Annibals oratour, nor as a fugityue, haue ſcome vnto you at this tyme. But ſeing that he, either through his owne defaute, or els by yours, tarieth with your ennemies (leſt you ſhulde be ignorant, that there are certayne conditions offered bothe of peace and ſafegard) I for the olde frendſhyp and hoſpitalitie that hath ben betwene vs am come to you: and fyrſt I wolde ye ſhulde perſwade your ſelues, that for your welth and none other cauſe, I ſpeake to you thoſe wordes, which I wyl declare, and this you may well perceyue. For as longe as you were able with your owne power, to make reſiſtence, or truſted to haue ſuccour from the Romayns, I neuer made mention to you of peace. Nowe ſeing there is no hope of ſuccour from the Romains, and your own ſtrẽgth and walles do fayle you, being vnable any longer to reſiſt: I bring to you peace more neceſſary than ryghtuous or iuſte. Of the which peace there is yet ſome hope, yf, as Annibal beinge conquerour, doth ſende it, ſo you as people ſubdued, wyll receyue it. For you muſt conſyder, that you beinge conquered, muſte of the conquerour receiue that whiche of his goodnes he wyl giue you as a reward. The conditions of peace are theſe: He wyl take the citie (whyche he hath broken for the moſt parte, and almoſte wonne) from you. He wyll leaue to you the fieldes, and alſo aſſigne a place, where you ſhall buylde a newe citie. He commaundeth alſo your golde, ſyluer, and other goodes, publike and priuate, to be brought to hym. He is contented to ſuffer your ſelues, your wyues and children to paſſe in ſafe garde, if ye go out of the citie vnarmed, takyng with you only double apparell for your bodies. Thoſe thynges your victorious enemy Annibal dothe commaunde you, the whyche your ſorowfull chaunce and fortune dothe perſwade you to accepte. Truely I doubt not, whan ye haue accomplyſhed all theſe his requeſtes, but that ſome of theſe conditions ſhalbe remytted vnto you. I thynke better, you ſhulde rather ſuffer theſe iniuries, than your ſelues to be ſlayne, your wyues and chyldren taken & violently led away before your faces, by the extreme lawes of warre.

Howe Saguntum was cruelly conquered. Cap. v.

WHan Alorcus hadde ended his oration, the chiefe rulers of the citie departed sodayneiy from the reste of the multitude, and gathered all theyr golde and syluer frome the publyke and priuate places, into the market place: and before any answere was gyuen vnto Alorcus, towchynge his message, they caste it all into a fyre, that was quyckly made for the same purpose, and many cast them selfe headlonge after. When the feare the trembling and the quakyng for this busynes had passed through the citie, an nother rumour was afterward heard. A towre of the citie, that had longe tyme be bruised and shaken, fell downe to the earthe: at which place a company of the Carthaginenses entred. Anniball in suche a chance thynkyng not mete longe to deliberate, with great violence entred the town, and incontinent cõmanded, that all the youth shulde be slayne, a cruelle victory, not withstanding it was knowen in that case almost necessary. For whiche of those shulde be spared, that eyther being inclosed with their wyues & children burned theyr houses ouer them: or els being well armed, wold determine no end of the warre but by deathe? The citie was taken with a great praye: of the whiche moche goodly householde stuffe was sent to Carthage. Some write, the. viii. moneth that the warre began, the citie was won, and that Anniball for the wynter, returned agayne to newe Carthage. Duryng which tyme the ambassadours that went to Carthage, brought worde to Rome, that the Saguntines were ouercome and distroyed, and their citie taken: Whyche tydinges hearde and knowen for trouthe, brought suche heuynes and sorowe togither to the Romans, What for pitie of theyr frẽdes vnworthily lost, and for shame that they had not succoured thẽ in due tyme, that therby they conceyued a great displeasure toward the Carthaginenses, and also feare of losse of their owne countrey and goodes, as though the hole power of theyr enemies had bene presente at hande. Thus being troubled at one tyme with dyuers motions of the mynde, they seemed rather to quake and tremble than to take counsayle: and good cause why. For there neuer warred agaynste theym a more cruell enemy, nor more

yeres

vehemntely gyuen to all kyndes of warre: nother theyr citezens neuer ſoo ſluggyſſhe and vnmeete to warfare as then. Whan they hadde longe bewayled this ſorowfull chaunce, they prepared all thynges as meete and neceſſarye for the warres as they coulde. Some were ſent into Fraunce, ſome into Affrica, and lykewyſe into all other places, where they hadde warres.

Howe the Romayn ambaſſadours ſent to Carthage, and from thens into Spayne, ſpedde. Cap. vi.

AL the foreſaide buſyneſſes prepared and ſet in good order, Quintus Fabius, Marcus Liuius, Lucius Aemilius, Caius Lucinius, and Quintus Bebius were ſent into Affrica, to inquere of the Carthaginenſes, whether Hannibal diſtroyed the citie of Sagunt, by the aſſent of the publyke counſayle or noo. And yf they wold graunt and defende, that it was done by the holle counſaile, than to declare vnto them, that they wold reuenge their wronges in battayle. After the Romans were come to Carthage, and that Quintus Fabius had in the ſenate enquered of the ſenatours of Carthage, accordyng to his cõmaundement, a prince of Carthage anſwered on this wyſe.

O ye Romaynes, your fyrſt legacy (whan ye came and required Annibal to be delyuered vnto you, as one that hadde beſieged Sagunt of his owne mynde without our counſayle) was voyde and of none effecte: Howe than ſhulde this your cruell legacy take place, wherin ye requyre of vs a confeſſion of the treſpaſſe, and amendes for the ſame? I thinke it ought not to be inquired, whether Sagunt was diſtroyed by our publike or priuate counſayle, but whether it was done ryghtfully or wrongefully. For your queſtion and conſyderation, as concernynge our cytezen is, whether he enterpryſed the ſyege and battayle by his owne mynde, or by our accorde: and our controuerſy with you is, whether it myght be done, the truce beynge obſerued, or no. Therefore ſythe it muſte be determyned, what rulars maye doo by the common counſaylle, and what of theyr owne wylle: Ye muſte vnderſtande, that the truce that was taken betwene you and vs,

was gyuen by Luctatius, than being your consull: in whiche it was conteyned, that bothe our frendes shuld be spared, no mention being made of the Sagũtines, for as thay they were not your frẽdes. But verily in the truce, that was taken with Hasdrubal, the Saguntines were excepted, against which I wyll say nothyng, but that I haue learned of you. Truely ye refused to obserue the truce, that L. Luctatius your consull dyd decree and make with vs, bycause it was not done by auctoritie of the fathers conscripte of your senate: than yf you do not obserue and kepe your bandes and truce, oneles they be constitute and made by your auctoritie and cõmandement: We also wyll not obserue the truce takẽ by Hasdrubal, wherof we were ignorant. Wherfore leaue now to speake of Sagunt and Iberus: and declare boldly that whyche you haue longe tyme consultynge, deuised. Than the Romayn Legate aduaunced forthe hym selfe, and sayd: Here we bryngе vnto you peace or warre: take whether you wyll. Wherunto they fiersely answered, that he shulde giue whether he wold. And whan he agayn settyng forth his commandement, had shewed theym that they shulde haue warre, they aunswered all: that they wolde accept it, and with no lesse courage prosecute the warre, than they had receyued it.

¶ Whan the Romain ambassadours had proposed the warre as it was commaunded theym, they wente from thense into Spayne, with fayre behestes to wynne and allure the chiefe cities therof to their fauour, and to tourne from the Carthaginenses. First they came to Barguses, who receyued them gentilly, bicause they were wery to be vnder the dominion of Carthage, sturring moch people with desyre of the new warres. From thense they came to the Volcians: whose wyse and quicke answere shortly knowen through Spayne, turned the residue of the people from the frendshyp of the Romaynes. Thus the eldest of them in counsayle answered.

¶ O ye Romaynes, how may ye for shame requyre vs to accepte your frendshyp before the frendshyp of the Carthaginenses, whan they that so did (the Saguntines) ye more cruelly betrayed than theyr ennemies dyd destroy. Therfore I wold counsayle you, to go seke your frendes, where the destruction of Sagunt is not knowen. For as theyr destruction was an heauy and pitiefull thing to the Spaniardes: so is the same

ſame a great warnyng and teachyng, that no man ſhulde truſt to the promeſſe and frendſhyp of the Romaynes. With this anſwere they were commaunded ſhortly to depart frome the Volcianes, nother coulde they after gette any better frendeſhyp of any of the counſayle of Spayne. And ſoo whan they had in vayne trauailed through Spayn, they cam into Fraunce where whan they had before the nobles and great multitude of the people, magnified and extolled the renoume and power of the Romaynes, they deſyred, that the Carthaginenſes ſhulde haue no way through Fraunce, to leade theyr army into Italy. At which requeſt there aroſe ſuch a laughing amonge them, that (as it was ſayd) ſcarſely the youth coulde be pacified of the auncient men and rulers. Their deſyre was thought very folyſhe and vnreaſonable, that the frenchemen ſhoulde not ſuffer the Carthaginenſes to leade theyr armye through Fraunce: but they for other mens pleaſure ſhoulde tourne the warre to them ſelues, and haſarde theyr countrey to be diſtroyed. Whan the noyſe was appeaſed, anſwere was made, that the Romaynes were at noo tyme ſo frendly vnto them, nor the Carthaginenſes ſo great foos, that they wolde eyther holde with the one, or warre againſt the other. They ſayd more ouer, that the Romaynes hadde dryuen dyuers of theyr countrey men out of Italy, and cauſed other to pay tribute, with many other iniuries. Suche anſwere for the moſte parte they receyued through all Fraunce, nor other newes of peace or frendſhyp they ſcarſely hearde before they came to Maſſilia: There they had knowledge by certayne of theyr frendes, that Annibal had obteined the hartes of the frenchmen before, and that he had corrupted the princis and rulers with money, wherof they were moſt couetous and deſirous of all nations. So whan the Romains had wandred through Spayne and Fraunce, at laſte they came to Rome, not longe after the Conſuls were gone to the prouinces, & they founde the citie holly bente on the expectation of warre. For it was euidently knowen, that the Carthaginenſes were paſſed the riuer Iberus.

¶ Howe Annibball renewyng the warre, conducted his army into Fraunce to passe the mountaynes. Cap. vii.



After Sagunt was wonne, Annibball (as afore is sayd) went to newe Carthage for the wynter, and there heryng what was done and sayd both at Rome and Carthage, and that he was not only the capitayne of the warres, but also the chief cause therof: partyng and deuidyng the residue of the pray, and thynkyng to lose no longer tyme, called the souldyours of Spayne togyther, and exhortynge them to warre, sayde on this wyse:

¶ I suppose that you my frendes do knowe, seing al Spayne is peasyble and at reste, that eyther we muste fynysshe the warfare and sende home our souldiours, or els begyn warres with some other nation. If we seke renoume and victory in other countreys, our owne nation shall not onely flouryshe in goodes, tranquillitie, and peace of theyr owne at home, but also enioy the ryches, the iewelles of the spoyle at our conquest. Wherfore seing ye must trauayle farre from home, and vncertayne it is, whan ye shall retourne agayne to se your houses, and those whome you loue, yf any of you wyll go se his frendes, I shall gyue hym spendynge for a season, but I warne you all, that ye be here ageyne with me at the spryng of the yere, at whyche tyme I intende to begynne the warres, by the goddis fauour, with great hope of wynnyng and prayse. Euery man was gladde of the libertie that Annibball of his fre wyll had gyuen them, to go se their countreys and frendes. The rest from trauaile whiche they had all the winter season, made them stronge and lusty in theyr bodies and couragious to endure the labours and peynes that were to come. And at the begynning of ver they assembled togither, as it was commaunded.

¶ Whan Annibball had taken the musters of all nations that came to ayde hym, he departyng from Gades, accomplished his vowe made to Hercules: and bounde hym selfe with new vowes, if his other enterprises dyd prosperously succede. Wherfore prouydyng as well for to withstande inuasions, as to inuade by warre, leste whyle that he iourneyed by lande, through Spayne and France towarde Italy, he shulde leaue

Affrica

Affrica open and naked to the Romayns from Sicilia, he determyned to leaue there ſtronge garriſons in all places. And for that cauſe he ſent for a bend of Affricanes, namely of thoſe that vſe to throwe dartes, and were lyght harneyſed: whiche number of Affricanes he leſte in Spayne, and than ſente he a great number of Spaniardes into Affrica to kepe that countrey, to the intent they beinge eche of them farre from theyr countreys and frendes, ſhuld (as though they were pledges eche for other) play the good ſouldiours, and ſtickyng together, defend in that they myght the one cuntrey of the other. After he had ordered and aſſigned ſtrong garriſons to euery part and region, as to Carthage, Spayne, and Affrica, remouyng his army from Gades to new Carthage, led them from thens to the ryuer of Iberus, and to the ſea coſte. There (it was ſayd) he ſawe in his ſlepe a yong man of a heuenly ſhape, whiche ſayd he was ſent from Jupiter vnto Annibal, to conducte hym into Italy, ſhewyng to him before the deſtruction of Italy: and that he ſhuld procede in his vyage, & ſerche no more: for the deſtenies were hid & ſecrete. Whan he had ſene and herde theſe thinges, he conueied his hoſte, deuided into thre partes, ouer the riuer of Iberus. Diuers of his frendes he ſent before hym, to wyn the hartes of the frenchemen with giftes, through whoſe cuntry he muſt nedes paſſe: and alſo to viewe the paſſages ouer the mountains. He conducted. lxxx. and. x. M. fotemen, and. xii. M. horſemen ouer the foreſayd water of Iberus. Than ſubdued he diuers townes & dominions therabout, which lay atthe fote of the mount of Pyrene, and there he appoynted Hanno with. x. thouſande footemen, and a thouſande horſemen to remayne to kepe thoſe paſſages and ſtraites, whiche lay betwene France and Spayne, whan they began to approche nigh to the foreſaid high and dangerous mountayns, and that it was openly knowen, that the war was taken againſt the Romains, thre thouſande of the Carpetanes footemen, ſodainly departed from the hoſte, and forſoke him: not for feare of the warre, but for the longe iorney, and perillous paſſage ouer the mountayns, almoſte vnable to be paſſed. Annibal ſeing he coulde not change theyr mindes, and that it was doutfull to kepe them by violence, leſt it ſhuld ſtere the fierce myndes of the reſydue and make them wery, ſent after thē aboue. vii. M. other more, ſuche as he ſuppoſed

to be:

to be wery of the warfare: sayning that he had also licenced them that were fyrst stolen away, to depart home, bycause of the tedious iourney: this dyd he to thintent the reste shulde haue none occasion to leaue or forsake hym. And than lest by prolongyng the tyme, he shuld hynder the myndes of the residue, he ledde his hoste forthe with spede, and passyng the mountaynes of Pyrene, pitched his tentes before a towne, called Illiber. The frenchmen although they herde that the Carthaginenses were come to warre vpon Italy, yet bicause the fame went, that the Spaniardes on the other syde of the hyll of Pyrene, were by them subdued, and strong garrisons therfore there lefte, being afraide of seruitude, armed them, and moche people assembled at a towne called Ruscino. Whiche thyng whan Anniball herde, fearyng more delay of tyme, than warre, with as great haste as myght be, he sent oratours to theyr rulers, desyryng to speake with them: shewyng that he came not as an ennemy, but as a guest or frende to France, and that he wolde not, if it pleased theym, drawe his swoorde, before he were passed France. The frenchemen hering this, incontinent remoued to Illiber, and with good wyll came to Anniball, whiche wanne theym with gyftes, to suffer hym to haue free passage through their townes and countreys.

How Anniball passed the riuer of Rhodanus, put the Frenchmen to flight, refused to fyght with the consul of Rome, and with what wordes he couraged his souldiours to passe the mountaynes. Cap. viii.

Thus Annibal either with feare or with money wynnynge the countreys as he wente, brought his hoste to a fielde of the Volcanes, a stronge kynde of people, which inhabyted on both sydes the water of Rhodanus, who doubtyng the power of the Carthaginenses, and mystrustynge theyr owne strengthe, conueyed all that they hadde ouer the ryuer, and formoste kept the parte therof, that the ryuer shulde be as a munyment or defence to them: The residue of the inhabitantes, that remained there (bycause they were gladde to rydde the countrey of suche a huge numbre of men of warre) were suche

contented to be reteyned by Annibal for rewardes to make botes nd ſhyppes, to paſſe ouer the ryuer: ſo that in ſhorte ſpace they hadde gotten and newe made a greatte nauye of ſhyppes, and of ſmall cockebotes. The frenchemen beganne to faſſhion botes, hewynge trees and makynge theym hollowe, after the ryghte faſſhion: And than the ſouldyours theym ſelues, bothe for the plentye of tymber and alſo the eaſynes of the crafte, euery man hewed his tree, and made a bote to carye hym ſelfe and his ſtuffe ouer. Whanne all thynge was made redye to paſſe ouer, the great companye of ennemies on horſebacke and on foote, that were on the other ſyde, abaſſhed theym ſore. Whiche to driue awaye, Annibal ſent Hanno Bomilcars ſonne with a ſtronge companye namely of Spaniardes, in the begynnyng of the nyght, commaundyng them to kepe vp the riuers ſyde a dayes iourney, and as ſone as he coulde to conuey his company ouer priuily, that they myght be redy whā tyme required, to ſet vpon their ennemies behynde. Certayn frenchemen were appoynted to guyde and conuey them vp alonge the ryuer ſyde: Who conducted them the ſpace of. xxv. myles vp the ſtreame to a lyttell Ile, where they felled trees, and ſpedyly made botes, in the whyche they myght conuey theym ſelues, theyr horſes, and theyr neceſſary ſtuffe ouer. The Spanyardes throwyng theyr clothes vpon botels, and ſittynge on their ſheldes faſtned aboue theron, paſſed the ryuer, the reſt of the hoſte, ioynyng botes togyther, paſſed ouer, and pitched their tentes on the other ſyde of the riuer, where after their nyghtes iorney, and wery days labour, they reſted all that day and nyghte to refreſhe them. The nexte day they remoued from thens, and with bournyng made a ſmoke, to ſignifye that they were paſſed the ryuer, and they were not farre of. Which thynge whan Annibal perceyued, leſt he ſhulde loſe the tyme, gaue a ſygne to his hoſte to paſſe ouer. The footemen with theyr baggage paſſed ouer in botes: the horſemen ſhypped ſuche horſes, as at theyr landyng they muſt nedes occupy, the reſt of the horſes they tyed to ſmalle botes, and cauſed them to ſwymme ouer. And to aſſwage the rage of the water, as well for the eaſe of the ſmall botes, as of the horſes that ſwamme, they ſette the great ſhyppes and botes betwene the ſtreame and them. The frenchemen ſeinge this, ranne to the bankes

with great shoutyng and synging after their fashion, knocking their sheldes ouer theyr heades, and shaking theyr weapons in theyr ryght handes: not withstandynge it was a terrible dashement vnto them, to beholde suche a multitude of shyppes, to here the huge noyse and rushe of the water: the dyuers cries and clamours of the mariners and souldiours, that indeuoured them to ouercome the rage of the water: the exhortations that they that were landed gaue to the other.

Thus being in great feare of the tumultuous rufflyng before them, behynd them arose a more dredfull clamour, that Hanno had taken theyr campe, and came on them at theyr backes: they fledde euery man what way he might sooneste get. Whan Annibball had conueyed the reste of his hoste ouer, nothing regardyng the Frenchemen, pitched his tentes. The Romains had sente P. Cornelius Scipio with an armye to mete with Annibball, and was a lytell before arriued at Massilia, and had pytched his tentes on the syde of the ryuer of Rhodanus. Whan Annibball knewe therof, he sent. v. C. Numidian horsemen, to viewe the Romayns campe, theyr order, and also the number of them, who beinge espied were encountred with a [illegible].iii. C. Romayns, whiche after great slaughter on both sydes opteyned the victorye, and perforce put the Numidians to flyght. Publius Cornelius Scipio, beinge consull and capitayn of the Romaine army, loked for none other thynge but that Annibball shulde gyue hym battayle. And like it was, that he wold so haue done, had not the legates of the Boios, and the ruler of Fraunce (whyche offered them selfes as companyons in the iourney) tourned his mynde: aduisynge hym in nothynge to mynysshe his power tyll he were come into Italy. Whan Annibball was fyrmely fyxed to goo forthe, he beganne to exhorte and encourage his souldyours, whyche were almost dyscouraged with feare of the doubtfull passage ouer the hygh mountaynes, whyche they shulde passe, shewyng vnto them, that before they came out of Spayne, they hadde brought all those people and realmes whiche were inclosed with two seuerall seas, to be vnder the domynyon of Carthage: And that it were shame for them to departe, seing they had alredy passed the ieoperdous passage ouer the ryuer of Rhodanus, and also ouercome so many Frenchemen, that prohybyted them that perylous passage. Moreouer he

sayde

ſayde, the ſame hyghmountaynes were in theyr ſyght, which on the one parte ioyned to Italy. He ſhewed them alſo, that the ſayd mountayns were not ſo dangerous, as they ſuppoſed them to be. For they were but hygh hylles, and that men and beaſtes dyd inhabyte vpon them, whych hylles whyles they did not touche the ſkye, myght be ouercome by mans labour. Alſo ſeinge that trauaylers paſſe ouer with theyr ſtuffe wyues and chyldren, moche more ſouldyours, hauyng but their armour and weapons, myght go ouer theym: ye may (ſayde he) well perceyue, that ſuch as in tymes paſt went ouer theſe hylles, had not wynges to flee ouer them, wherfore eyther ye muſte gyue place bothe in hardyneſſe and vertue to the Frenchemen, beinge ſo oftentymes ouercome of vs, whiche by theyr ſtrength and manhode conquered theſe mountaynes in olde tyme, or els let vs truſte, that the ende of our iourney ſhall be the great fielde lyenge betwene the ryuer of Tiber, and the walles of Rome.

¶ Whan he had with theſe exhortations incouraged them, the next day he remoued from Rhodanus, and toke his waye through the myddell of France, not bicauſe that was his next way, but for that he wolde not mete the Romanes before he came into Italy. Wherfore he wente the further frome the ſea, and brought his hoſte into a lyttell Ile. The inhabitauntes wherof were called Allobroges, a kynde of people, that in honour and rycheſſe myghte not lyghtely be matched in Fraunce. Amonge them was great diſcorde, by reaſon of two bretherne that ſtroue for the lande. Whan Annibal was entred the ſayd lande, the determination of the contention was committed wholy to hym: who in ſhorte ſpace ſette and eſtabliſhed the elder in poſſeſſion of the inheritaunce. Whyche done, the ſayde lande ayded hym with men, vitayles, clothes, to defende them from the colde of the mountaynes, and other neceſſaries, and ſo he departed to go to the mountaynes, not holdyng the ryght waye, but helde on the lefte hande ſtylle without interruption vntyll he came to a ſloudde called Druentia, this was in all Fraunce the daungerouſt ryuer to paſſe ouer. For not withſtandyng that the water was ſwyfte and of great ſtrength, yet coulde it beare no ſhyppes, bycauſe it was incloſed with noo ſure bankes: ſoo that it made nowe here dyre grounde, nowe there deepe trylle hooles.

Beſyde this it was replenyſhed with great ragged ſtones, ſo that there was no ſure way for any man to paſſe ouer.

¶ After Annibal was departed from the riuer of Rhodanus Publius Cornelius Scipio the conſul within .iii. dayes came to the campe where his ennemies lay, who ſeinge they were gone, and that he coulde not eaſily ouertake them, he went to his ſhyppes, thinkyng to mete them as they deſcended from the mountaynes into Italy, and ſo the better to medle with them there. And bycauſe Spayne ſhulde not be left without defence, he ſente thyther Cneius Scipio his brother with a great part of his hoſte, agaynſt Haſdrubal, to the intent not onely to helpe his frendes and get mo, but alſo to driue Haſdruball out therof, if he myght: he hym ſelfe with a ſmall army went to Genua, and with the hoſte, that lay about the ryuer of Padus, he intended to kepe Italy.

¶ Howe and with what labour, peyne, and exceedyng great daunger Hannibal and his army paſſed ouer the hygh mountaynes Alpes into Italye. Capit. ix.



Annibal came from Druentia moſte part by the playne fieldes and valeys (by the ſufferance of the Frenchemen being inhabitauntes there) to the Alpes or high mountains: and as the fame went, ſo it was found: The toppes of the high hilles were myngled with ſnowe, that almoſte touched the ſky, and full rude houſes were ſet vpon the rockes, the beaſtes and labourynge cattell beinge wethered for colde, the men naked, vnſhauen, and vnrounded, all the beaſtis and people were hardned and drawē togither with froſt: with other thinges more fearefull and filthy to be ſeene than ſpoken, whiche whan the hooſte ſawe nere hande, dyd renue and increaſe theyr drede. As the army marched vp betwyxt the rockes, they myght perceyue the mountayne men aſſembled on the hylles ouer them to defende the paſſage. Annibal cauſed his ſtanderdes to ſtay there, and ſent the Frenchmen to viewe the paſſage. And whan he vnderſtoode, that there was no going that way, he pitched his tentes in the playneſt valey that he could fynd among the brokē ſtones & cragges.

And

And perceyuyng by the Frenchemen, who knew almoſt their language, that the deſert paſſages were kept on the day time, and that on the nyght euery of them wolde repayre to theyr cotages or houſes. The nexte mornyng he gatte vp on the hylles, makyng ſemblance as thoughe he wolde attempte to wynne the paſſage by force. Thus he ſpent the hole day, diſſemblyng to do one thyng, and intendyng an other, tyll it was nyght: than he withdrue hym to his campe, where he before reſted. But ſo ſoone as he wyſt, that the mountayne men, and thoſe that watched the paſſage, were gone to their reſt: he made many great fyres, and leauyng all the cariage and ſtuffe, with the horſemen and moſte part of the fotemen in his cãpe, hym ſelfe with a great numbre of lyght and valiant men, quikly paſſed the ſtraites, and gate the ſame hylles, that the other kepte before: The nexte day the hoſte and ſtuffe beganne to come after. In the mornyng the mountayne men aſſembled to go to their places as they were wont to doo. But whan they ſawe their enemies had gotten their caſtels and places aboue their heades, it feared them ſore, and cauſed them to ſtay for a ſeaſon. Afterwarde, whan they ſawe ſo great feare amonge the hoſte in the ſtreites, and that they were almoſte confounded with theyr owne noyſe and trouble, the horſes trembling for drede: they thought to put them to further trouble, and to worke them more diſpleaſure. Wherfore they came down by the hylles ſyde along the rockes, being vſed therto, where none other coulde eſcape: And nowe here, nowe there, inuaded the army, ſo that what for the dangerouſnes of the paſſage, and alſo by their ennemies they were meruaylouſly encumbred. But aboue al other troubles the greateſt was, that whan thay ſawe them ſelues thus in danger by reaſon of their ennemies and of the paſſage: than ſtroue the one with the other, who ſhuld fyrſt eſcape the daunger therof, by paſſynge fyrſt the ſayd ſtraites, fyghtyng more with theyr owne company than with theyr ennemies. Theyr carrell being alſo ſtriken and hurt by the derth of the mountayns, roryng and yelyng, hurt and ouerthrewe many of the hooſte, ſome armed, ſome vnarmed downe the hygh mountaynes, with ſtuffe and baggage, that pitie it was to beholde. Whan Annibal was informed therof, he deſcended with a greare numbet with hym and at his fyrſt commyng, he diſparkled and put his enemies

to flight, so that afterward he had not only leisure to conuey his army, but also sylence and quietnes. Than he toke the castell the chiefe place of all that region, and other theyr villages. And with the captiues cattell he founde his army thre dayes. Departyng from thense he came to an other sorte of mountayne people, whyche not by battayle, but being taught by the destruction of theyr neyghbours, with crafte subtilty and wyly deceytes, wrought hym moche displesure. Certain of the eldest and chiefest of the castelles came to Annibal, shewynge hym, that they beyng admonyshed with the harme of theyr neyghbours, wolde rather haue his frendshyp and amitie, than prouoke the wrathe of the Carthaginenses, offeryng to obey his commaundementes, and to ayde hym with vytailes, and to conducte hym and his people on theyr way, and for the assuraunce thereof, they offered to delyuer hym pledges. Annibal as wyse and taught in suche busynes, neyther gaue to theyr wordes ouer hasty credence, nor despysed theyr gentyll offer: lest therby he shulde haue made them his manyfest enemyes, but sobrely receyued theyr hostages, and vsed theyr ayde vpon the way: whose guides he folowed not negligently, but in good order and araye. The elephantes and horsemen were set before, and Annibal hym selfe came after with the strengthe of his footemen in good aray, wysely ouerlokyng all thynge. When they came to a more narrow waye, hauyng an hygh hylle on the one syde, the sayd barbaryke people sodaynly set vpon them bothe behynde and afore, rollyng downe great stones among the host: The rereward was by them sore troubled: so that yf it had not ben surely defended, many of them had bene destroyed. In this trouble and peryll remayned they all the day: tyll the nyght caused the ennemyes to withdrawe. On the morowe they were nothyng so vexed as the day before. For theyr assaultes were but skyrmyshes, sometyme before, somtime behynde. Wherfore they passed the streytes, and came to the toppe of the mountaynes, within the space of. ix. days, not without great ieopardy and slaughter, but more of the beastes than of the men. There Annibal caused the army, beinge weryed with labour, trauayle, and fyghtynge, to reste theym the space of two dayes. Duryng whiche tyme there fell suche abundance of snowe, that it renewed theyr sorowes, for the snowe fyl-

lynge

ryng euery place as the armye shulde passe in the mornynge, made them almoste desperate. Annyball perceyuynge theyr great discourage, gotte before the standers, and went vp on a hylle, from whence he myghte see farre and wyde, where causyng his army to stay a lyttell, he shewed to them Italy, and the fayre fieldes that lay aboute the ryuer of Padus, adioynynge to the mountaynes: and he sayde vnto theym, that after they had passed these mountaynes, they had alredy scaled the walles not onely of Italy, but also of the verye citie of Rome, shewing them, that all other passiges were plaine, easy, and nothynge daungerous: and that within two or three battayles at the moste, they shoulde attayne Rome, whyche was the head of Italy. With that the hoste beganne to sette forewarde without any interruption, except it were by small inuasions, as it were of robbers, and such small skyrmyshing: But the way to descende was than more daungerous than it was at the ascendyng vp of the same: for it was so narowe, stipe, and slyppy, that they coulde not saue them selues from fallyng. And whan one slode, he ouerthrewe hym, that went before hym, so that men and cattell were in ieopardy of theyr lyues. After that came they to a moche more strayte rocke, the clyffes therof were so hygh and stype, that with greatte peyne, the ligier souldyours, by takynge holde of the shrubbes and trees, that grewe on the rocke syde, coulde descende downe. The place, whyche was before of his owne nature pytchelonge, by sodayne breakynge downe of the earthe, was made a thousande foote stype ryght downe to the bottome. The horsemen stayed there, as thoughe they hadde bene at theyr iourneyes ende. Whan Annyball inquired, what caused theym to tarye, it was shewed hym, that noo manne coulde passe the daunger of the rocke. Than wente he to see the place hym selfe: and it seemed to hym, that by the pathes and wayes, whyche appeered to haue bene vnused, by leysure and longe compasse, he myght well ynoughe conuey his armye aboute the rocke, but all was in vayne, for vppon the olde yse and frosen snowe there was the nyghte before newe snowe fallen of a small thyckenesse, whyche after a lyttell goynge vppon, thawed and gaue somewhat agayne, and became soo slyppy, that skarsely vppon theyr handes and knees could they sustayne theym selues.

Theyr

Theyr horses and cattell tumbled in the snow, and were sore cut on theyr legges with the sharpe yse: so that it was great pitie to here the mone that the people made in euery parte. To appease all this noyse, and to comforte his people, Hannibal caused them by polycy to make a place to pytche theyr tentes on. Fyrst he caused the snowe and yse to be digged vp and striken away, whiche was not done without great labour and trauaile. Than had he inuented a propre diuise to breake the rockes, and through them to make a reasonable passage, he caused his company to cut downe a great numbre of trees that grewe on the hill ouer them, which he caused to be tumbled downe the hylle vnto the sayde troublesome rockes, and therof to make great pyles of wodde vppon the sayd greate rockes, and whan the wynde was bygge, he caused theym to be sette on fyre. Than caused he greate plentye of vineger to be powred on the stones that were before burned and wasted with the great heate of fyre, wherby they were made moche more gentyll to be broken and hewed, and than with barres of yron and other instrumētes they broke and bruised the rockes and made them a way so playne, that not only the cattal might passe throughe, but also their elephantes and their cariage. About this worke they continued. iiii. dayes, in whiche tyme theyr cattall was almoste famished, for on the hylles was nothing but snowe to be gotten. Wherfore they sent theyr beastes to the valeis partes to grase, where they also rested. iii. dayes, and than they came to the playne countreys, whiche were occupied with husbandry, and were fertile. After this maner they came into Italy, the fyft moneth after they sette forthe from newe Carthage: And as some writers say, they passed the mountaynes in. xv. dayes. What numbre of menne Anniball brought into Italy, the writers do not agree. Some say he had L. thousande fotemen, and. xx. thousande horsemen: somme wryte of more, and some of lesse.

¶ Howe both the armies of Rome and Carthage approched, and the oration that P. C. Scipio the consul made to encourage his men to fyght. Capit. x.

AT Anniballes commynge to those parties, he found moch for his purpose, the Taurines and Insubres warryng one agaynste the other, but he coulde not arme his hoste to helpe the one parte, for their bodies were so wery of labour, theyr clothes so foule and fylthy, that some desyred to rest after theyr trauaile, some sought for vitayles after theyr hunger, some taried to chaunge their apparayle and make cleane theyr garmentes: they were so soore handled in passynge the mountaynes. Which thyng P. Cornelius Scipio the consull perceyued well, and that caused hym to make the more spede with his army to the ryuer of Padus, that he myght fight with them er they were refreshed of theyr great labour, or could haue time to furnilhe their army. Scipio had receiued of Manlius and Attilius, an hoste of newe souldiors, not moch exercised in warres, and such as were straungers to him. When he was come to Placentia, Annibal was remoued and had taken and destroied the chiefe citie of the Taurines, bycause they wold not willyngly yelde them: and had wonne to his amitie all the dwellers about Padus, had not the comming of the consull feared them. By that tyme that Annibal was a litel remoued from the Taurines, the two hostes were almost mette, and also the capitaynes. And as nother of them was as than knowen to the other, so they were stryken with a certayne admiration the one of the other. For Annibal, by the wynning of Sagunt was drad of the Romayns: and like wyse he supposed Scipio to be of no lesse fame and worthynesse, for that he was chosen of the Romayns to be capytayn agaynst hym. Than Scipio passed ouer Padus, and remoued his campe to a ryuer called Ticinus: Where before he wold gyue battayle, to exhorte and encourage his men, this he began his oration vnto them.

¶ If I had (louyng souldiours) the same armye, that I had in Fraunce with me, I wolde not speake vnto you that, which I intende at this present tyme to say. For what shuld it nede to stere and incourage those horsemen, whyche at the ryuer

of Rhodanus soo valyantly ouerthrewe theyr ennemies: or those legions, with whom I folowed this our fugitiue enemye. Nowe for bycause that hoste was sent by the senate of Rome into Spayne, there to make warre vnder my brother Cneius Scipio, to the intent you shulde haue bothe a consull and capitayne agaynste Annibal and the Carthaginenses, I wyllyngly toke vpon me this warre. A newe capitayn: to new souldiours shuld vse fewe wordes. Not withstandyng lest ye shulde be ignorant in this kind of warre, and not knowe with whome ye shall fyght: ye shall vnderstand, that with these ye shall haue a do, whom in your laste warres, ye subdued bothe by lande and sea, of whom ye toke truage perforce the space of twenty yeres: from whom also you wonne Sardinia and Sicilia as a prey of warre. Therfore in this battayle ye must haue the same harres and myndes, that is wont to be in conquerours: and in your ennemies muste nedes be suche hartes as happen to men ouercome. And they do not now gyue battayle of theyr owne hardynesse and courage, but bicause they can not chose: onelesse you thynke, that they, which hauyng theyr hole army freshe and lusty, withdrewe them and durste not encounter with vs in battayle beyonde the mountaynes, and whyche loste two partes bothe of horsemen and footemen in passynge ouer the same mountaynes: shulde haue nowe more hope and trust than before. And those fewe that be left of them, haue loste both hartes and strength: so that they are nowe ymages, yea rather shadowes of men, than men in dede beinge clonged together with hunger and colde, feynte and febled emonge the rocky hylles. Besydes this, theyr synewes and veynes are shronke togyther with colde of the snowe, theyr membres wythered with froste and yse, theyr harnies shaken, rusty, and broke, theyr horses feble and lame. With these enemies you must fyght, ye they ar the leuynges of your ennemies, and not your ennemies. And I feare nothynge more, than before you shall fyght with your foos, it shalbe thought, that the mountayns haue fyrst ouercome the, and taken the honour from vs. But so it is perchance necessary and mete, that the goddis without mans helpe, and without battayle, shulde ouercome them, that are truce breakers. And we that be violated and disceyued, shulde next after the goddis (as theyr mynisters) bryng them to vtter confusyon.

Pers

Peraduenture many of you wyl ſuppoſe, that I ſpeake theſe wordes proudly and hyghly, onely for your exhortation and comfort, and that I ſhulde thynke otherwiſe my ſelfe: Therfore ye ſhall vnderſtand, that I was ſent into Spayn to myne owne prouince, whether I was nowe going with myne hoſt, where I ſhulde haue vſed bothe the felowſhyp and counſayle of my brother in all perylꝭ and ieopardies, and ſhoulde haue fought rather with Haſdrubal being leſſe of power, than with Hanniball: and ſo ſhuld I haue had leſſe to do. Notwithſtandyng whan I arriued with my ſhyppes beyonde the coſteo of Fraunce, landyng I hearde great bruite of Anniball, and ſendyng a certayne horſemen before, pitched my tentes at Rhodanus: and there my company ouerthrewe and put to flyghte thoſe, with whom it was theyr chaunce to mete in battayle. Than bycauſe I could not with footemen ouertake myne ennemy, whiche fled before me, I returned to my ſhippes, and with as good ſpede as I could make, ſayling a great compaſſe about, arriued here, to mete hym in the front of the mountaines, to the intent to gyue hym battayle: And to proue whether the earthe hath brought forthe ſodainly, within the ſpace of theſe. xx. yeres, other Carthaginenſes, than were wonte to be bredde there or no. For if theſe be of the kynd of them, that warred at the yles of Egates, I remembre welle, that they were ſold from Erix for. xviii. d. a pece come who wold. Alſo I longe to proue, whether this Anniball be the folower of Hercules in his iourney, as he ſayth that he is, orels a tributary, a ſtipendary, and a ſeruaunt to the people of Rome, left by his father. We haue to ſhewe the bandes of truce, written with the hande of his father Amilcar: who beinge commaunded by our capitayne, withdrewe his garriſon from the citie of Erix, who lamentyng and frowning receiued the greuous lawes made agaynſt the Carthaginenſes ſubdued, who couenanted with the Romayns to depart from Sicilia and to pay tribute. Therfore ſouldiours, I wolde haue you fyghte not onely with ſo good a courage as ye were wonte agaynſte other ennemies, but alſo with ſuche an indignation and diſpleſure, as though you ſawe your ſeruantes armed to fyght agaynſt you. We myght if we had wolde, whan they were incloſed at Erix, with very hunger (the hardeſt and ſoureſt punyſhement amonge men) haue deſtroyed them. We might al-

so (yf we had wolde) haue sayled with our victorious Nauye into Affrica, and in short space with out battaile, vtterly haue destroyed Carthage. We pardoned theym, we made peace with them after they were subdued, and toke theym into our protection and defence whan they were sore greued with the warres of Affrike. And for these our benefites shewed vnto them, folowinge this furious yonge man, they come to conquere our countrey. And wolde to god this battayle nowe were for honour, and not for the healthe and safetie of vs all. We fyght not nowe for the possession of Sicilia and Sardinia, for whiche we stroue in tymes paste: but nowe we muste fyght for Italy. For there is none other armye behynde vs, which wil withstande them if we be ouerthrowen: Nother be there any mo mountaines, ouer which whiles they were passyng, men might prouide newe succours. Here we must resist them, euē as we shuld fight before the walles of Rome. Euery man must thinke that he with his armour couereth not and defendeth only his own body, but also his wife and small children. Nor let no man care only for his owne house and family but let him likewise haue in minde, that the senate and people of Rome beholdeth this our conflict and battayle, and vppon our fortune at this present tyme dependeth the prosperitie of the citie and hole empyre of Rome.

¶ With what examples and wordes Anniball exhorted his souldiours to fight valiantly. Cap. xi.

Whyles Scipio the consulle in this maner exhorted the Romaines, Anniball thynkyng fyrst to encourage his men with dedes, before he wolde exhort theym with wordes, disposed his army in compasse as it were to beholde a fyght, and thanne he brought in the middes of them the mountayne men bounde, whome he before had taken prisoners: and layde also in the same place the armour of the Frenchemen, whyche he hadde ouercome, and caused one, that coulde speake the language, to inquere of those prysoners, whyche of them, yf they were losed out of theyr bondes, wold take hors and armour, and fight for theyr lines.

Whan

Whan they all hadde deſyred armour and battayle, he cauſed lottes for them to be caſte, and accordyng to the lotte loſed a great number of them, who with leapyng and ſkyppyng after theyr maner, euery of them ſhortely toke hie armour, beinge as ioyfull and glad to dye with honour, as to lyue with ſhame and in captiuitie. Than incontinent he called his ſouldiours aboute hym, and made to them an oration in maner and forme folowynge.

¶ If ye haue any mynde or remembrance of the example of the ſtrangers fortune not longe paſſed, ye ſhuld haue the ſame euen nowe, in wayinge your owne fortune and chaunce. We haue ouercome in battayle thoſe our captiues. Wherfore ye muſt thynke, that all theſe your priſoners, nowe ſhewed before you, were not ſhewed as a ſpectakle for you to beholde, But as a certayn reſemblance of your owne chaunce and condition, in caſe ye be nowe ouercome and taken: And I can not tell, whether fortune hath gyuen greatter bandes, and more vrgent neceſſitie to you, than it hath gyuen heretofore to theſe captiues. Two ſeas doo compaſſe you bothe on the ryght hande and on the lefte: and ſhyppes haue you none to eſcape awaye withall. The water of Padus is all aboute vs, more violent than the ryuer of Rhodanus, and at our backes are the hygh mountayns, which ye paſſed with ſo great peyn and peryll. Wherfore louing ſouldiours, ye muſt eyther ouercome your ennemies at the fyrſt encounter, or els be ſlayne. And the ſelf fortune, which hath brought you now into ſuche neceſſite, that nedes ye muſt fight or die: the ſame fortune ſhal gyue you ſuch rewardis, if ye ſubdue your ennmies, as no mortall men can deſire greatter of the immortall goddis. If we ſhuld by our valiantnes recouer agayne but onely Sicilia and Sardinia, whiche were wonne from our forefathers, it might be thought a ſufficient reward. But in caſe we ſpede wel now what ſo euer the Romains haue goten with ſo many victories and triumphes, and all the dominions, which they nowe poſſeſſe, ſhall be all ours, with the princis, lordes, and rulers of the ſame. To wynne ſo ryche a preye with fauour and helpe of the goddis, arme youre ſelfe, and ſette forthe boldely. Ye haue hytherto longe ynoughe chacynge beaſtes on the wyde and large mountaynes of Luſitania and Celtiberia, founde no waity praye nor reward to recompence ſoo many your

labours and perils. Nowe it is tyme to get your ryche praye measurynge your great rewardes accordynge to the desertes of your trauaile, enterprysing this so great a iourney, passing ouer so many mountayns and ryuers, and by so many kyndes of armed people. Here fortune hath gyuen you an ende of your trauayle: Here fortune wyl rewarde you accordyng to the costes and charges that you haue ben at. Nor ye shuld not suppose the victory to be so harde, as the battayle is of great name. Oftentimes a small host hath made a great and a doutful battayle: agaynl noble people yea and kynges haue ben ouercome in a lytel moment. For take away the terrible sound of the name of Rome, and what are they to be compared to you? Your great warres this. xx. yeres, with your manhod with your good fortune I speake not of: I wyl only remembre thynges of late done. Ye are come hyther from the pylars of Hercules, from the Occean sea, frome the furthest parte of the worlde, passyng through and conquerynge so many fierce and cruell nations of Spayne and France. You shall nowe fyght with yonge and vntaught souldiours, of late beaten and ouercome by the Frenchemen, and as yet vnknowen to theyr capitayne, and he vnto theym. Shall I that was born and brought vp in the noble hous of my father, that hath ben the chastyser of Spayne and France, that haue conquered not onely the people of the mountaynes: but also all the passages, whiche is moche more: compare my selfe with this weake capytayne of a fourtenyght olde, wandrynge frome hoste to hooste: to whom yf a man this day wolde shewe the army of Carthage and the army of the Romains togyther: he can not tell of whyche hoste he is gouernour, but only by the banners and badges. Surely worthy warriors, I esteme not this a lyttell, that there is none of you, before whome I haue not done some worthy feate of warre. At that tyme ye dyd extolle and laude me, and thought me worthy of gyftes and preferrement. And nowe I shall more lyke a father than a capytayne, before you all enter into battayle agaynste these people, that nother knoweth vs, nor any of theym knoweth other. Where so euer I caste myne eyes, I see nothynge amonge you but hardynesse and strength, the moste auncient and famous footemen, the mooste noble armed and vnarmed horsemen, and you moste faithfull and hardy Carthaginenses

and

and felowes, ſhall both fyght for your countrey, and in a iuſte and ryghtuous quarell. We bringe warre and banners diſplayed into Italy noyſome to the Romaynes: And ſo moche more boldly we may fyght, in how moche the hope and courage of vs that inuade, is ſtronger than theyrs that onely defende. Beſydes all this theyr wronge, and vnworthy dealyng towarde vs, dothe kendle and encourage our myndes. For fyrſt I beinge capitayne was requyred, and than all you that were at the deſtruction of Sagunt, were in lykewyſe requyred to be delyuered to the Romayns to be put to deathe. This moſte cruell and proude nation dothe all thynges after theyr owne brayne and iudgement: they wyll determyn with whome we ſhall haue warre or peace. All thing that they do, they thynke it ryghtefull. They wylle appointe hylles and fluddes to be boundes and meres, whyche we may not paſſe, yet wyll not they obſerue the places and termes, whych they haue ſette and preſcribed them ſelues. Thou ſhalt not (ſaye they) paſſe Iberus, leſt thou make the a do with the Saguntines, Sagunt is at Iberus: Therefore you ſhall not moue thyther from your appoynted place. They eſteme it but a litell to haue taken from vs our moſt auncient prouinces, Sardinia and Sicilia, but they woll haue Spayn alſo. And if they wynne that, than they wyll haue Affrica. I may well ſay Affrica alſo, For they haue ſent two conſuls this yere, one into Affrica, and an other into Spayne. There is nothynge lefte to vs, but that that we muſte be fayne to wynne agayne with the ſworde. If feare compelle theym, lyke cowardes to flee here from vs, they haue places ynoughe to receyue theym, they knowe the countreys and wayes wherby to eſcape:

It behoueth you to play the valyant men, and ſettyng all at ſix and ſeuen, eyther to vanquyſhe, or elles yf fortune frowne, rather manfully to dye in battayle, than to be ſlayne in fleyng away, If this that I haue ſayd, be faſt fixed in your myndes, I ſay to you for certayne, you haue all ready the victorye.

How

Howe Scipio and Hannibali mette by chaunce, and fought togither, and howe the consul was hurt, and Hannibali victour. Cap xii.



Whan by these exhortations the men of warre on bothe partes were kendled and stered to battayle, the Romaines pitched their tentes at Ticinus, where they beganne to make a bridge, and fyrst they made a towre vpon the same, for the safegarde of the bridge whiles it was worlyng. But while they were occupied about theyr worke, Hannibali sent Maharbali, with a wynge of the Numidies of .v. C. horsemen, to destroye the fieldes of suche as were frendes to the Romayns, chargyng theym to spare the Frenchemen: and to stere the princis to forsake the Romans amitie. Whan the bridge was made, Scipio conueied his army ouer, and pytched within .v. myles of Anniballes campe. And whan the Romaines hoste approched, Maharbali was called backe. Whan Annibali (who coulde neuer inough stire his souldiours to battayle) had promised them gystes, rewardes, ye and fredome, with landes also other in Affrica Spayn or Italy at theyr owne pleasures in case they myght obteyne the vpper hande, he dydde sacrifice vnto the goddis, holding a lambe in the lefte hande, and a flynt stone in the ryght hand, desyrynge Jupyter and the goddis all, so to slea him as he did the lambe, yf he wolde breake promyse with them. And than euery of them receiuynge a sure hope, desyred the battayle. The Romans made no suche haste, bycause they were feared with strange tokens and syghtes a lyttell before. For a wolfe was seene to come into theyr campe, which rent and tore those that he mette, and hym selfe escaped without hurte. Dyuers other suche tokens very straunge, were shewed amonge the Romaynes. Whan Scipio had soughte diligently what they myght sygnifye: he went with certayne horsemen with hym, to a lytteil hyll nere adioynyng, to viewe the number and demeanour of Annibals hoste: where by chance he mette Anniball, and certayne horsemen with hym, that was also ridden forthe to viewe the countreys aboute. Whan they were almost mette, with great care and diligence they set them selfes in aray to fyghte. The battayle was stronge for a season and doubtes

dou btfull. But in a whyle the Romain fotemen fledde backe to their battayle, where beinge myngled with the horſemen, they cauſed great confuſion: but whan the Numidian horſemen, whiche were on the wynges, came on theym alſo, than fledde they on all partes to their campe. In this conflict was the conſul Scipio ſoore wounded, whom with great peyn his horſemen caried out of the fielde to theyr great diſcomforte. Wherfore the nyght folowyng, the Romanes, makyng as litell noyſe as myght be, that theyr ennemies ſhulde haue noo knowledge, remeued from Ticinus to Padus: and came to Placentia, before that Annibal wyſt that they were departed from Ticinus. Mago with the Spanyſhe fotemen ſwam ouer the water quyckly, and Annibal by the hygher parte of the ryuer, paſſed ouer his hoſte with as great ſpede as might be. And within a fewe days he came and pitched before Placentia, and on the morowe after, in the ſyght of his enemies, he ranged his hoſte, and ſette them in aray redy to gyue battayle. The nyght folowyng by reaſon of a ſedition that aroſe in the Romane army there were many Frenchemen ſlayne, of thoſe that came to theyr aide, whervpon two thouſand fotemen and two hundred horſemen of the Frenchemen, fleinge the watchemen at the gates, fledde vnto Annibal, whome he gentilly entertained and hēdled with hope of exceding great rewardes, and ſent euery man home to his owne citie, therby the more to allure and tourne the myndes of the commons of theyr countrey vnto hym. Scipio demyng this ſlaughter to be a token, that all the Frenchemen wolde forſake hym, and that they beinge touched with this yuell dede, as a madneſſe were fallen vppon theym, wolde runne to harneys, not withſtandynge his wounde greued hym ſoore, yet as priuily as he myght in the nyghte tyme, he remoued his hooſte to the ryuer Trebia, and pytched in hygher places, and on lyttell hylles yll for horſemen. Annibal hauynge knowlege therof, ſente fyrſte certayne Numidians after, and thanne all the horſemen: whyche ſhulde haue putte the rerewarde to great trouble, hadde not the Numidians for couetouſnes of pray, tourned to the voyde tentes of the Romanes, in which ſeaſon they eſcaped.

Howe Anniball fought with Sempronius the consul, and by what meanes he put the Romans to flyght. Cap. xiii.

DUryng this tyme was Sempronius the other consull going to Sicilia with his army, but in his iourney he receiued letters from the senate, of the entring of the Carthaginenses into Italy, requiring him to aide the other consule as sone as he might. Which whan he perceiued, he layd garrisons in diuers places, to defend the prouinces, and came him selfe with a strong power into Italy, to kepe the costes. Thus whan the two consuls were met together, al the power of Rome was there assembled ageinst Anniball. Notwithstanding the one consul, beinge abated by his fyrst battayle and sore wounde, wold rather prolong the matter than fight. But the other being freshe and lusty, and therfore more fierce, wold haue no delay, thinking it great honour vnto him, if he might recouer agayn that the other consul had lost. Wherfore he sayd, that there was no man wold deferre the battaile, but only he, who being more weaker in his harte than in his body, for the remẽbrance of his wound, did refrain to fighte. And also that the tyme ought not to be prolonged with sicke folkes. Shal we tary and lose time? For what third consull, or what other army shall we abyde? The Carthaginenses haue pitched theyr tentes in Italy, and wel nere in the citie of Rome: who seeke nowe neither Sicilia, nor Sardinia, that were afore conquered from them, nor Spayne beyonde Iberus, but they are come to driue and expell the Romaynes out and from their owne lande and natiue countrey. O (sayde he) howe moch wold our fathers, who were wont to warre before the walles of Carthage, lament, if they sawe vs their children, ye and two consuls, with their two hostes, tremblynge and quakynge in Italie within our owne campe, and that the Carthaginenses had wonne al the feldis betwene the Alpes and Apenninũ. These wordes spake he to his hurt felowe in the victory. And also the chosynge of offycers at Rome, prouoked hym to make haste, leste that the taryinge for his felowe beyng hurte, myght be occasyon of theyr losse of preyse and victory: and lest the warre myght be cõmytted to new consuls, whose election was than at hand. Which thinges

ges conſydered, they prepared for the batayle in haſte. Annibal although he thought, that nothyng ſhalde be done vnwarely, ſens the two cõſuls were mette togethe, and that the warre ſhulde be cruell and ſtrong: yet dyd not he myſtruſte good fortune, bycauſe of his fyrſt battayle. He was alſo the more buſy and intentiue to do battayle, whyles he thoughte the ſouldiours his ennemies were yong and rawe in the warres, and whiles one the beſte conſull was yet not hole of his woundes: and whiles the Frenchemens hartes of his armye (of whom he than had a great numbre) were ſtronge and hardy, whoſe courage he thought and knewe well wolde rather dyminyſhe than increace, whan they ſhoulde be brought any further from theyr owne countrey. Theſe thynges conſidered, he ſent certayn Frenchmen abrode the cuntrey as ſpies, who ſhewed hym, that the Romayns were all redy to fyght. Than Annball wente to ſee and prouide a place for diſceyte. There was in the myddes betweene the two hoſtes, where the fielde ſhuld be, a ryuer whiche was cloſed on both ſides, with greatte and hygh bankes, be ſette aboute with the wiedes of the fennes, whiche almoſte couered all the grounde, with yonge wyllowes and ſhrubbes, and alſo with hygh buſſhes and thornes: whyche whan he had ſerched and perceyued it to be a place obſcure and darke ynough, to hyde an inbuſſhement of horſemen in, he ſayde to his brother Mago: This place ſhalt thou kepe, and thou ſhalte (ſayde he) choſe vnto the one thouſande of horſemen, and oone thouſande of fotemen, of the beſt of myn army, to lye here in theſe couert places: and whan tyme ſhal requyre, to do as I ſhal ſhew you what therto appertayneth: and be ye ſure, that ye ſhall haue ennemies blynd in theſe feates of warre. Whan Mago had a M. horſemen, and a. M. fotemen deliuered to him, Annball commaunded the Numidian horſemen, the nexte mornyng to paſſe the water of Trebia, and ryde vp and downe before the gates of his ennemies campe: and whan they hadde with caſtyng and throwyng into theyr tentes and ſtations, prouoked them to iſſue out to batail, alluring them to purſue after, that then they ſhuld by litell and litell recule backe again ouer the ſaid riuer. The reſidu of the capitayns he cõmãded, that they ſhuld cauſe al their men to dyne & refreſhe them ſelfes, & after to be in a redynes, againſt they ſhuld be called to the battaile.

Sempronius hearyng the rumour of the Numidies, brought all his army (beinge very desyrous of battayle) to the ryuer, whervnto the other reculed backe, as was appointed by Annibali. The weather was extremely colde, and it showed fast. The souldiours hadde taken no sustenance before, nor made any prouision to strength and kepe theyr bodies warme from the colde frost and showe. But in all haste folowyng the Numidians, theyr crafty ennemyes that fledde before theym, entred into the ryuer. Nowe was the water ryson that nyghte, by reason of that showe, as high as theyr brestis. Whan they cam out of the water, theyr bodies were so stark and benommed with colde, that scarsely they could holde theyr armour vpon them: and also towarde the myddes of the daye, they beganne to faynt for hunger. In the meane season Annibali causedgreat fyres to be made before his souldiours tentes, that euery man might warme him: and also to put oyle in their gloues, whyche shoulde souple their ioyntes and membres. Whan they hearde that theyr ennemies were passed the ryuer, beinge lusty bothe in body and harte, euery man toke his weapon and went to battayle. Annibali ordred his battayles circumspectly: fyrst he sette forthe his throwers of dartes, whyche were of the yles called Baleares, than his light harneysed fotemen, to the numbre of. viii. M. and after them the other footemen: he also bestowed in the. ii. wynges. x. M. horsemen, in whom rested the great strength of his battayle, and into these wynges also he departed his elephantes, puttynge them craftily before the syght of his ennemies horses, whyche were not wont to them, so that for strangenes of the syght, and the vnaccustomed sauour of them, they scattered abrode, and than the battayle by the footemen was mayntayned for a season: But anone, what by reason of the horsmen and elephantes, and also through the sodayne commynge of Mago with the Numidians, that fiersely assayled the Romaynes at theyr backes, they were stryken with suche feare, that they fledde on all partes: Some ieoparded to take the water ageyne, and escaped to theyr tentes, but of them were but fewe, for either they were drowned in the depe water, or els slayne of theyr ennemies in the chase at the water syde. Many toke the ryght way to Placentia, and therby were saued. On the other syde the Carthaginenses were soo beaten

with

with the rayne myxte with ſnowe, and with the intollerable colde, that the beaſtes, elephantes, and men, were almoſt peryſhed. The ryuer of Trebia cauſed them to retourne from the purſuite of the Romans: ſo that almoſte deade for colde they came to theyr campe, with very ſmall ioy of theyr victory. The next night Scipio conueyed his hoſte ouer the ryuer of Trebia, and ſo to Placentia, vnware to the Carthaginenſes: who by reaſon of the vehement ſtorme of rayne that felle that nyght, coulde not here the remouyng: or elles for peyne of theyr woundes and werynes of labour, dyſſembled the matter and toke no hede therof. Thus were the Romans conueyed peaſibly to Placentia, and from thens they paſſed ouer Padus to Cremona. Whan the chance therof was knowen at Rome, there aroſe ſuche ſodayn feare among them, as though theyr ennemies had ben come alredy with baners diſplayde before the gates of Rome: Neyther had they hope of any further ſuccours, wherby they myght defende theyr enemyes from their gates and walles: The one conſul being ouercome at Ticinus: and the other called frome Sicilia to helpe hym: and nowe bothe beinge togyther ouercome, and their two hoſtis. What other capitayns, what other legions had they more left to withſtande them?

Hannibal intendyng to take a certayn caſtell by ſtrithe, was encountred by the conſull, wounded, and put to the woyſe, and after a great ſlaughter of the people he wonne Uticũ-ũas. And howe Cn. Scipio in Spayne ouerthrewe Hanno in battayle. Cap. xiiii.

Whan Sempronius by chaunce had eſcaped the great daunger of his enemies, he returned to Rome, to the chooſyng of the new cõſuls, at which parliament Cneius Seruilius and C. Flaminius were created conſulles. Whiche thinge done, he came to Placentia, thynkyng to paſſe the wynter quietly in that place, but the Romans had not quiete ſo moche as the winter tyme. For the Numidians and other of the hoſte of Anniball were ſparkled abrode in the coſtes, ſo that they were troubled on euery ſyde. There was a certayn market towne

and castell, not farre from Placentia, very ryche and strongly fensed. Thither went Hannibal with his horsemen, and suche as were lyght harneysed, thynkyng to wynne it by assaut in the nyght. But the watchemen perceyuing his intent, reised suche a crye, that it was hearde to Placentia. Than the consull in the next morning, with his horsemen before, and his legions in good order folowyng after, came thither, and gaue them battayle, in the whiche Annibal was wounded: Wherby the Carthaginenses were in suche feare, that they gaue backe, and the peace lasted whyles Anniballes wounde was in healynge. And ere he was fully cured, he went to a place called Uicunuias. That place was surely kepte by the Romanes, who being a great numbre, what of the garrison, what of the townes mē, also by reason of the assemble of the people of the countrey, who beyng afrayde of the Numidians, whiche roued abrode: fledde thither for succour: these people (I say) being many in numbre, hering of the noble defendyng of the castell, adioynynge to Placentia, thynkyng to do a great feate, with a great route of people, without any order, ranne to armour, and came forth to encounter with Anniball. But bycause they were an vnruly company, without a capytayne or good order, the other, being but a fewe in nūber, and good men of warre, hauynge a good capytayn, vnto whom they myght truste, dyd discomfite of them. xxvv. thousande, and the nexte daye toke the towne, and made suche a slaughter and destruction amonge theym, as was not hearde of a great season before. These were Anniballes victories durynge the wynterseason, after whyche they rested the deepe of the wynter: And as soone as sprynge tyme of the yere came, Sempronius the consull, who was than returned from Rome, prepared to gyue battayle to the Carthaginenses, & the first day that they met, the Romans had so good fortune, that they not only wonne the victory in playn fielde, but also draue them to their tentes, and indeuored them selfes to wynne their campe. But Annibal, setting certayn of his fote men to defend their gates or entrees of their campe, and causing the rest, as well fotemen as horsemen to recule, dyd sette them in aray within the campe, to the intent to be in a redines to rushe out vpon their enemies, so sone as he made to them a signe. The Romans seing they coulde not wynne the campe,

blewe

blewe the retreite. Whan Annibball ſawe, that the bataſle was ſlakid, and the Romans began to recule back from his campe: he ſet forthe the horſemen, ſome on the ryght hand, and ſome on the lefte, and hym ſelfe with the fotemen, came after from the campe, and gaue theym a ſtronge battayle, puttyng them to moch dyſpleſure. But anon the nyght departed them with lyke loſſe and ſlaughter on bothe ſydes.

¶ Whyles theſe thynges were doone in Italy, Cn. Scipio, being ſent into Spayne with his hoſte, partely by force, and partly by amitie and olde frendſhyp, he brought all the countreys from Luſitania, to the riuer of Iberus, vnder the obedience of the Romans. And alſo the fame of his gentil entertayning of people broughte the inhabitauntes on the mountaynes, and the wylde nations to be his aſſured frendes. So that they were all redy with theyr armour & ſuccours to aide the Romans to the beſt of their powers. Hanno, whom Annibball hadde left for the defence of theſe regions, knowynge theſe actes of Scipio, after his arryuall, and fearyng leſte he ſhuld be by hym put from the poſſeſſion of all that countreye: appoynted to fight with hym before the matter were ouerfar gone, and pytched his campe not farre from the hoſte of the Romans. Scipio knowyng that yf he did long tary from batayle, he ſhulde haue to do with hym, and alſo with Haſdruball, who were bothe lefte for the defence of the countrey, thought it better for hym to mete with theym and theyr hoſtes ſeuerally, thanne to matche with bothe the hoſtes togither. Wherfore he made ſpede to mete fyrſte with Hanno and his company. In whyche battayle there were ſlayne. vi. thouſand of the Carthaginenſes, and. ii. M. taken with their cayptayn Hanno, and all their tentes, with a certain town alſo nere vnto the campe called Stiſſus. Haſdruball, before he herd of the diſcomfiture of his felowe Hanno, was paſſed the ryuer of Iberus with. viii. M. fotemen, and one thouſande horſemen, intendynge to mete the Romaynes at theyr fyrſt commynge: But whanne he hearde of the ouerthrowe of Hanno and his people, he tourned toward the ſea, where by chance he met with many Romans, that were left in the ſhips not far from Tarracon, wandryng abrode vpon the ſea coſtis, takynge no hede to theyr ennemies, as people myſtruſtynge nothynge, but beynge neglygent by reaſon of theyr late proſperous

sperous succesſe. Of theſe negligent perſons many he ſ
the reſt he droue to their ſhyppes with greate feare.
the leſſe hym ſelfe being afrayd of Scipios commyng, ourſte
not longe tary in thoſe parties, but with his army paſſed the
ryuer of Iberus, and diſtroyed the fieldes of the Illergites,
bryngyng them to his ſubiection.

How Annibal paſſed the dangerous fennes nere to the ryuer of Arnus, to the great loſſe of his menne and cattail, where the fenny ayre cauſed hym to loſe one of his eies. And of the haſte that Flaminius the Conſule maketh to gyue hym battayle. Cap. xv.

AS ſoone as the ſpryng of the yere dyd appere Annibal goinge from the place, where he wintred: bycauſe it was ſayd that Flamminius the conſule was come to Aretium: not withſtandyng that there was a more eaſy & better way: Yet bycauſe it was further aboute he toke the nexte waye ouer the greatte peryllous fennes, where as at that tyme the ryuer of Arnus hadde ouerflowed more hygher than in tymes paſt, he commanded the Spanyardes with the Affricans, and the moſte part of the olde ſouldiours with their ſtuffe to go before, leſt whan they were conſtrayned to ſtay in any place theyr neceſſaries ſhulde be wantyng: next theym he ſet the Frenchemen, bycauſe he wolde haue that hoſte in the myddell, in whom he had leſt truſte: laſt of all he commanded the horſemen to come, giuing in charge to Mago with certayne of the beſte Numidians, to come behynde, and to bryng forth the army, ſpecially the Frenchemen, leſt that other wearynes or feare of the long way, ſhuld cauſe them to ſtay or to ſlyp away, as they are very fayne and fearefull people in ſuche buſynes. The fyrſt company walowyng in the thycke mudde and the depe waters, ſkarcely ſauyng them ſelues from drowneyng, folowed theyr ſtandardes and guydes. The Frenchemen that folowed theym, coulde nother ſaue theym ſelues from fallynge: nother whan they were downe well aryſe agayne, nother coulde their hartes comfort their bodies, nor hope comforte their hartes: ſome drewe their weary membres with peyne after theym. Some

other

other, where they ones fell, theyr hartes being ouercomme with wearyncs, were conſtrayned to dye. The watche that they ſuffred. iiii. days and. iii. nyghtes, without any ſlepe, was the chiefe cauſe of theyr confuſyon. Whan they could fynde no dry place, where they myght reſt theyr weary bodies, the water couering al the erth, they heaped theyr ſtuffe and bag-gage in the water, one packe on an other, wherypon they reſted and ſaued them ſelfes. The heapes of dead cattell, whiche were dead in all the way, was in ſtede of beddis to many that were faint and feble, whiche eaſed them for a lytel ſpace. Annibal hym ſelfe hauynge ſore eies, by reaſon of the intemperate ſprynge tyme of the yere, that chaunged now to heate and nowe to colde, being caried vpon an elephant (which only remained) bicauſe he ſhulde be hyghe from the water: yet through his great watche and colde, and by reaſon of the fenny ayre beinge noyſome to his heade, and bycauſe there was no place nor tyme to heale him, he loſte one of his eies. And whan he had paſſed the fennes, not without great loſſe bothe of men and of beaſtes, as ſoone as he came to dry ground, he pytched his campe, hauing certayne knowlege by his eſpies, that the Romane hoſte was about Aretium, a cuntrey as pleſant and fertyle as was in all Italy.

¶ The conſull was than fierſe and cruell, for the ioy and the pride of his newe office. And he not onely lyttell feared the lawe and dignitie of the fathers of the ſenate, but alſo he wanted the feare of the immortall goddis. Fortune alſo had nouryſhed this his foolyſhe hardynes with proſperous ſucceſſe, as wel in the ciuile buſynes and affayres at home, as in certain foreyn batayles: ſo that it appered, that he wente aboute all thynges cruelly and ouer haſtily: nother counſaylynge with the goddis, nor with men. And howe mocheo more redye he was to folowe his owne foly, ſo mocheo the buſyer was Annibal to prouoke and ſtere hym to the ſame. Wherfore leauing his ennemies on the left hande, he went towarde Feſſula, intendyng to diſtroy the fieldes of Hetruria, where he ſhewed the conſull as great waſte, deſtruction, and ſpoylynge of his frendes as he myght, bothe by robbynge, ſlaughter, and burnyng: to thintent he ſhulde therby the rather be prouoked to battayle. Flamminius of his owne nature was gyuen to be buſy, although his ennemy wolde haue ben quiete and in reſt,

but whan he sawe the goodes of his frendes caryed awaye: and his neyghbours bourned before his face: thynkynge it dishonour vnto hym, to see Anniball wander throughe the myddes of Italy, taking his pleasure without any resistence, he determyned incontinent to gyue battayle, although many of his men perswaded hym, that he shuld tary the commynge of his felowe the other consul, so that they shulde with both their counsayles and hoostes togyther, procede vnto theyr enterpryse agaynste Annibal: and in the meane tyme with the horsemen, and lyght harneysed footemen, to lette hym frome his robbynge and destroyinge the countrey. But he contrary to the aduertisement that was gyuen hym, beinge angrye, rushed forth of the counsel howse, & quikly caused the baners and standerdes to be dysplayde, and lepte hym selfe vpon his horse: but incontinent the hors sodainly fell, and cast the consull to the earthe: whyche vnlucky begynnynge caused those that were present, greatly to feare the successe therof.

Of the battayle of Trasimenus, with the deathe of the Consul Flammintius, and many other Romayns. Cap. xvi.

Anniball this whyle distroyed and wasted, by cruell warre, all the fieldes that were betwene the citie of Cortona, and the lake of Trasimenus, thynkynge the hartes of his enemies the sooner to be moued to redresse the iniuries of theyr frendes: And they came to a place meete for treason and disceyte, where as the great lake or fenne of Trasimenus dydde almoste ioyne vnto the hylles of Cortona. There was at that place one onely strayte and narowe waye to enter in, but afterwarde the fieldes waxed a lyttell broder and larger: Ouer that playne the hylles arose of a great heyght. In the same fayre and playne place Anniball pytched his campe, where he onely with the Affricanes and Spanyardes dyd reste. The rest of the lyght harneysed men of the army: he brought about the backe of the hylles. And he disposed the horsemen nere to the mouthe of the narowe entre, where the hylles myght secretly couer and hide them: comman-

commaundyng, that as ſoone as the Romans were ones paſ=ſed the ſtraytes, the horſemen ſhuld appere at theyr backes, ſoo that they ſhoulde be incloſed and hemmed in on all par=tes, hauynge no waye to eſcape, by reaſon of the hylles and greatte lake.

¶ Flamminius folowynge his ennemies, was come aboute the ſettyng of the ſonne to the lake: And the next day early in the mornynge, whan it was ſcarcely day lyght, he with his hoſte were paſſed the ſtraytes. And whan his people began to ſtray abrode into the larger felde, they ſaw al the place be=fore them occupied with theyr enemies: And than they aper ceyued treaſon bothe behynde them, and ouer theyr heades. Whan Annibal knowynge his ennemies to be encloſed with the lake and hylles on the one ſyde, whyche he deſyred, and alſo compaſſed about with his army on the other ſide, he gaue a ſigne to his men ſodeinly, to inuade their ennemies: which his commandement they anon with all diligence executed, rū=nyng downe from the hylle and aſſaylyng the Romanes on all partes. One thyng moche amaſed the Romaynes by the ſo=dayne and ſtraunge chaunge thereof: there aroſe frome the brode lake a myſte thycker and darker than the hylles in ap=parence, whyche letted theym of the ſyght and true know=ledge of the maner of theyr ennemies inuaſyon. The noyſe of the ſodayne affraye aroſe amonge theym, before they per=ceyued theym ſelues to be betrayde and hemmed in: And the battayle was begonne bothe before and on bothe ſydes, be=fore that they coulde be put in good aray, or take theyr armor and drawe theyr ſwerdes.

¶ The Conſull Flamminius, whan all his people were thus oppreſſed with feare, he hym ſelfe as a man of great courage and lyttell affrayde, ordered his troubled company, and ſette them in order as well as the tyme and place wolde ſerue him, ſtyll exhortyng them by all the meanes he myghte, to abyde and to fyghte, ſhewynge theym, that it booted theym not to praye and call on theyr goddis, or to make vowes theym for theyr delyuerance: There was nowe no waye to for theym to eſcape but by ſtrengthe and hardyneſſe, there was no way than to be made, but with the ſwerd: and the leſſe feare they dydde take, the leſſe ieopardye and perylle ſhoulde they be in. But the noyſe was ſoo greatte, that the wordes and

counsaylle of their Capitayne coulde not be hearde: And they were so dismayde, that they sharsely knewe theyr standerdes and places to repayre vnto. They hadde scante hartes to drawe theyr weapons: theyr harneis was rather a burthen to them than a defence, They myght heare moche noyse and clamour of those that were wounded, but lyttell coulde they see. Some fled, and in the fleing hapned to fall into companies of Romanes that fought earnestly, and by them were stayed from further fleinge. Some were commynge towarde the battayle, and by the discomfyture of suche as they mette, whyche fledde away, were discouraged and fledde also. But at the laste, whan they perceyued no way to escape, than felle they earnestly to fyghtyng, not kepyng order or aray, but by companyes, as it happed theym to falle togyther. Than beganne the battayle to be fyerce in all partes, and endured almoste thre howres, and euery where very cruell, but moste daungerous about the consull. For the strengthe of the hoste folowed hym: And on what so euer parte he sawe his men in daunger, quyckly and diligently he rescued them: And he beinge very valiant, bothe myghtyly assayled his ennemies, and defended his citezens, vntyll one of Insubria, called Ducarius, knowyng bothe his horse and his face, sayd to his company: Here is the Consull, that not longe agone confounded our legyons, and distroyed bothe our cyties and fieldes: nowe shall I sende his sowle to the company of our frendes, that he all redy hath slayne: and hyttynge his hors with the spurres, he ranne violently through the thyckest of his ennemyes route, fleinge a squyre, whyche mette hym vnhappyly in the way. And afterwarde with his speare, ranne the Consull through the body, and hadde spoyled hym, had not the stronge company of the Romayne knyghtes withstande hym. After his deathe beganne the Romans to flee on al partes, and than nother hylles nor lake coulde lette theym: they wandred as blynd men through the straites and ouer the rockes, some fallyng one ouer an other. And whan they coulde fynde none other waye, they toke the next way through the fennes, runnynge into the water ouer head and shulders, and were for the moste parte drowned. Thus was the daungerous battayles at Trasymenus. xv. M. Romans were slayne in the bataile, and. x. M. sparkled abrode by diuers ways, cam

to

came to Rome. .x.M. and .v.C. of the Carthaginenſes were ſlayne in that battayle, and many died after by reaſon of theyr woundes, whiche they had. Annibal deliuered all the pryſoners of Italy without raunſome, but the Romans he kept in priſon. Than commanded he the bodies of his company that were deade, to be diſſeuered from the other, and buried. He ſought the body of Flaminius with greate diligence, to haue buried it, but he coulde not finde it. Whan the newes of this great ſlaughter was firſt knowen at Rome, the people aſſembled with great feare and rumour in the market place, gatherynge into companies, to knowe the trouth therof. And a litel before the ſonne ſettyng, Marcus Pomponius pretor ſaide: With great batayle we ar ouercome: and although the people herd him ſay no more of certainty, yet by receiuing the newes one of an other, they filled the hole city with tidingis, that the conſul, with a great part of the hoſt, was ſlayne, and that fewe were left on lyue, but were other chaſed abrode, or taken of theyr ennemies. The women chiefely made eyther great ioy for theyr frendes that eſcaped, or elles great ſorowe for the deth and captiuitie of them that were ſlayn and taken. It was ſayd, that one woman whan ſhe herde ſodeinly, that her ſonne came home eſcaped from the battaile, for ioy dyed at the gate of the citie. And an other, to whome it was ſhewed falſely, that her chyld was ſlayne, ſhe abode in her houſe very ſorowfull, but whan he came home to her ſodaynly, ſhe at the fyrſt ſyght of hym for great ioye dyed. The Pretours kepte the Senate for certayne dayes frome the ſonne ryſynge, to the ſonne ſette, counſaylynge what capytaynes, and what hooſte they myght haue to withſtande the Carthaginenſes: but before they had made any certayne determination of theyr buſynes, they had tydynges of an other newe ſlaughter, which was, that .iiii. thouſand horſemen, which were ſent by Seruilius the other conſull to Flamminius, vnder the gouernāce of one C. Centronius. After they herde of the battaile of Traſymenus, they returned backe, and in Umbria were betrayed by Annibal, and diſtroyed. Which thyng troubled the myndes of the people meruaylouſly. They were in great trouble and feare, the conſulle and head officers beinge abſent, vnto whom they ſcarſely durſt ſende theyr letters for feare of the Carthaginenſes, who were almoſte ſpredde ouer all Italy.

Wherfore they made Quintus Fabius Maximus Prodictator, that was ruler of the commons, and Marcus Rufus Minutius mayster of the horsemen, to these it was gyuen in charge by the Senate, to establysshe and make sure the walles and towers of the cytie, and to fortifye suche places, as they shoulde thynke conuenient. Also to breake the bridges, that were ouer the waters, and to prouide for the keping of theyr horses and citie, seing they coulde not defend Italy.

¶ Howe Anniball by a crafty decepte escaped the straites of Formiana, wherein he was enclosed by Q. Fabius Maximus. Cap. xvii.

Anniball came in the meane season by Umbria to Spoletum, distroyeng and burnyng all before hym. Than began he to lay siege to the towne but he was driuen thense with great slaughter of his men. Wherfore supposynge the citie of Rome to be of a great strength, seing that lytell towne was so stronge, whose strength and power he than not very prosperously hadde assayde, he withdrewe his armye to the plentyfull countrey of Picenus, and from thens to Pelignes, to Arpos, and to Luceria, a countrey adioynyng to Apulia, styll robbynge and spoylynge the countreys abrode in the way as he went.

¶ Whan Fabius, whom the Romanes had chosen hygh officer, had set all thynge at a stay in Rome, he (takyng with him the army, that before was with Seruilius the consull, and also .ii. other newe Romayn legions for the encreasyng of his army) went with the mayster of the horsemen Minutius, to mete with Anniball, and to stay hym from the destruction of the countrey. Fabius committing nothyng rashely to fortune by easy iourneis and good espies, came into the feldes of Arpos, pytchyng his campe not farre from his ennemies. Anniball soone after his cõminge, brought his people into the fieldes in good aray redy to fyght: but Fabius al that day kepte his men in their campe, whervpon Anniball rebuking the feble courage of the Romans, withdrew his people into their tentes, fearyng in his mynde the sobrienes of Fabius: whiche was a capitayne chosen, farre vnlyke to Sempronius or Flãminius

minius. Neuertheleſſe to proue the faſcion and conduicte of Fabius, Annibal very oftentymes remoued his campe, and euer ſpoyled the countreys of the frendes of the Romanes as he went: Sometyme he wolde ſodeynly conuey his army: and than ſecretely tourne out of the way, and lye in awayte, yf by chaunce he myght take his ennemies at auantage: but Fabius euer ledde his hoſte by the high places of the countreis ſtyll kepynge his ennemies in ſyghte, ſo that he wolde not be farre from theym: yet intended he not to giue them battayle, his men went neuer out of theyr campe, but only for the prouiſyon of thynges neceſſary. And whan they lacked vytailes forage, or woode, he ſent a great numbre togyther, that they myght walke ſurely. And alſo thoſe that wente therfore, he ſuffered not to ſtray farre from the hoſte. He hadde euer his horſemen and lyght harneyſed footemen in a redyneſſe and in aray, for feare of ſodayne inuaſions of his enemies. And alſo to thintent they ſhulde be redy to oppreſſe his foes, that at any tyme ſhulde roue abrode for ſpoyle or for vitailes, he myn-ded neuer to ieoparde the hole eſtate of the empire in open battayl, but he remayned ſtyl as a ſtay to weary his enemies. Whiche his ſobrenes was no leſſe diſpleaſant to Annibal, thã it was to Minutius, the maiſter of the horſemen. For he be-inge raſhe, and deſyrous to put all in auenture, fyrſt pryuily, and than openly dyſprayſed the ſlacknes of Fabius, callynge hym bothe ſlowe and fearefull. Annibal often remouing, cam from Arpos to Sammium, waſtyng the fieldes of the Bene-uentanes, and there he toke the towne of Tileſia, truſtyng by the ſhewe of ſoo mochе diſpleaſure, to cauſe Fabius to gyue hym battayle. There camme to hym the ſame tyme thre gen-tylmen of Italy, whome Annibal hadde before at the batail of Traſimenus taken pryſoners, and delyuered to lybertie without raunſome. Theſe men ſhewed hym, that in caſe he wolde conuey his army into Campania, they wolde helpe him with ſmalle peyne to wynne the noble citie of Capua. To this their motion Annibal at length agreed, ſendyng them to Ca-pua before hym, to ſtere the myndes of the rulers and of the communes therto, and to retorne, bryngyng him the certain-tie of their ſpeede. Than commanded he his guyde to leade hym the next way to the fielde of Caſſinus, hauyng knowlege by diuers expert men of the ſame countrey, that yf he were

ones

ones mayster of the hyll and strayte there, he shulde stoppe the Romanes from bryngyng any succours to theyr men, but that he shuld at his pleasure distroy them. But the guide mistaking the name of the countrey, toke Casilinus for Casinus. Wherfore leadyng hym a wronge way, he conducted hym by the countreys of Alifinus, Calatinus, and Calenus, to the fieldes of Stellates. Whan Annibal behelde that countrey to be on all partes enclosed with mountaynes and ryuers, he inquired of his guyde, in what region he than was? He answered agayn, that the same day he wold bring him to Casilinus. Wherat Annibal being displeased, caused him to be sore beaten with roddes, & after hanged for the example of other. Than seing that he was so farre frō his purpose, he thought in reuengyng of his malice, to bourne and spoile that plentyfull countrey about the ryuer of Vulturnus.

¶ By this tyme was Fabius come by the hilles, to the toppe of Massicus the mountayn: where the Romayns myght beholde the Carthaginenſis lodged in the fayre playnes vnder them, who ceassed not to spoyle the fieldes of Falernus, and to burne the houses of Simessa. This displeasure entred ernestly into the hart of Minutius: who aboue other maligned at the cowardise of the dictatour Fabius. And by an oration full of great inuectiues, set the hartis of the most part of the host agaynst hym. But all theyr murmurynge Fabius lyttell estemyng, contynued the reste of the sommer in his olde fascion, euer kepyng Annibal from battaile, the thyng that he most desyred. Whan the wynter began to draw nere, Fabius perceiuyng the countrey not to be able to susteyne the host of his ennemies any long season, and that there was none other way for them to passe out of the fieldes of Falernus, but only by the same strayte wayes, by whych they before had entred, he sendyng sufficient power of Romans to the hyll of Calliicula, and the towne of Casilinus: hym selfe, with the mayster of the horsemen, kept the narowe way, by whyche Annibal must nedes passe. Annibal wylling to proue the maner of kepyng of that strayt, came thyther, and there made a skirmishe with the Romanes, somewhat to his losse, and was fayne to recule backe. And he perceyuynge the Romans to haue the Samnites and the Campanes their frendes at theyr backes, redy to succour them with all necessaries, and that he and his

hoste

hoſte were ſo encloſed, that he was like to winter among the ſtones of Formiana, and the ſandes of Linterni: he forgatte not than to renewe his accuſtomed ſubtiltie and craft. He inuented a deceyte and mockery, very fearefull to mens ſyght, wherby he myght paſſe the ſtraites by ſtelthe in the nyght. he cauſed rotten ſtyckes and drye pieces of woode, to be gathered togither in the fieldes, and fagottes of yong roddes and bowes to be made, whych he cauſed to be tyed to the hornes of oxen and kyne, whiche he had before taken at a pray in the countrey, ſome being wylde, and ſome tame. There were .ii. thouſande beaſtis, that ſhuld be thus ordred. And the charge was committed to Hasdruball, that he ſhuld in the begynnyng of the darknes of the nyght, ſette the faggottes on fyre, that were on the hornes of the beaſtes: and than to dryue theym to the hylles and straytes, ſpecially aboue the way, which the Romans kept. Than in the begynnyng of the nyght, ſecretely he cauſed his men to remoue their campe, dryuing the oxen a lytel before the ſtanderdes. but whan they came to the fote of the hyll, and to the narowe way, he commanded the fagottes on the beaſtes hornes to be ſet on fyre. Whiche done, the feare of the flamyng fyre aboute theyr heades, and the heate commyng to the quicke and lower parte of the hornes of the beaſtes, cauſed them to runne, as though they had bene mad. With whyche ſodeyne running the yong roddes toke a burnyng, euen as though the woddes and hylles had ben on fire: and the mouing of their heades, cauſing the flame to ſprede abrode, ſhewed like as it had ben men rūning abrode with fyre. Whan thoſe that were ſet at the entryng of the paſſage ſawe the fyre on the hygh hylles aboue them, ſuppoſyng that they had ben betrayde, lefte the place aſſigned theym to kepe, and fledde to theyr ſuccours, ſekyng theyr beſt way by the toppe of the hylles, by whiche the great flame and blaſe dyd ſhyne, where they chaunced vpon certayne oxen ſtrayed from theyr flocke. And whan at the fyrſt they ſawe as it were liuing thinges, breathynge fyre and flames, they ſtode as aſtonyed with the ſyght. But after, perceyuynge the crafte to be made and conueyd by men, than ſuppoſing that there was treaſon, with great noyſe and rumour they toke them to flyght. Fabius alſo, ſeinge this mockery, fearynge deceyte, kepte his people within his campe tyll it was day. Thus in the nyghte, whyle

they were astonyed with this strange syght, Annball passed the straite passage with his hoste without danger, and pitched his campe in the fielde of Alifanus.

¶ Cneius Scipio fyghteth with Hasdruball and Himilco on the sea, vppon the costes of Spayne, dryueth theym to lande, taketh and distroyeth fyue and twenty shyppes, with a greatte noumber of the Carthaginenses. Capitu. xviii.

AFter this hard escape out of daunger, Anniball ledde his army as though he wolde haue gone towarde Rome, by the fieldes of the Samnites, robbing and burning vnto the Pelignes, and from thens returned towarde Apulia. And Fabius set his tentys betwene the citie of Rome and his ennemies, nother goyng from theym, nor gyuinge them battayle, tyll in short space after he was called to Rome, for bycause of the sacrifice that shulde be doone to the goddis. Before his departyng, he not only exhorted Minutius, mayster of the horsemen, whom he lefte with his army, but also streyghtly commaunded hym, that he shuld in no wise haue to do with his ennemies, for any occasion that shulde be gyuen him: and that he shuld better trust to counsayle than to fortune: and that he shuld rather folowe his aduise, being his capytain, than vse the trade of Sēpronius and Flaminius, shewyng the dangers of it by examples. Also he declared to him the disceite of theyre ennemies. And whan he had gyuen hym these exhortations in vayne, he departed to Rome.

¶ In the begynnyng of sommer, whyles those thinges were done in Italye, great warre begunne in Spayne. Hasdruball deliuered vnto Himilco. xl. sayle, wel furnished for the warre, and hym selfe with a great numbre of shyppes, also departed from Carthage, and sayled into Spayne, where after he was arryued and landed his hoste, he set his shyppes at the shore, nere to the lande, and pitched his campe on the lande, beinge redy to fyght with his ennemies, where soo euer he founde them on lande or water. Scipio, after he came from the wintrynge

tryngе, thought to haue gone on his enemies vpon the lande, but whan he hearde of theyr ſuccours, that were comme to them, he durſte not mete them on lande, but choſe a noumbre of good ſowldiours, and made redy. xxxv. ſayle for to meete them on the water, thynkyng to aſſayle them ſodeinly, er they ſhulde be able to ordeyne all thyng for their defence. Whan Hasdruball had knowlege of theyr commynge, by reaſon of hygh towers made in dyuers places of Spayne, from whens they may ſee farre of on the ſea, there aroſe a great noiſe and feare amonge his hoſte in theyr tentes. for ſuche as were on the land, and thought lytel to haue had battaile that day: He commaunded to make haſte to theyr ſhippes, whiche they did obey, and hym ſelfe came haſtyly after. And whan they came to the water, the ſowldiours ſo troubled the ſhipmen, and the ſhypmen the ſouldiours, that none of them coulde aray them ſelues, and ſette in order thynges neceſſaryly for theyr buſynes. Whyles this rumour laſted, the Romans not only were at hande, but alſo redy to fyghte. The Carthaginenſes noo more troubled with theyr enemies than with theyr owne rumour, were ſhortly ouercome and fledde: and at the firſt conflyct the Romans toke two ſhyppes, and drowned. iiii. And although the Romans ſawe all the ſhoore occupied with men of armes, yet were they not aferde, but folowed their ennemies ſhyppes fleynge, in ſoo moche that of. xxx. ſayle they toke and diſtroyde. xxv. And with this great pray went again to the ſea, and landed at Tarracon, where Scipio taryed not longe, but that his brother P. Scipio arriued there alſo, ſent by the ſenate with a great nauy, to the numbre of. xxxv. ſhyppes, and. viii. M. ſouldiours, with great ſtore of ſtuffe and ordynance.

¶ Whan the two bretherne were aſſocyate togyther, there was nothynge that dydde withholde the wylles and hartes of the people of Spayne from the frendſhyppe of the Romans, ſauing they feared the treſpas ſhuld be reuenged on theyr chyldernes bloudde, whyche were lefte as pledges by Annball at Sagunt.

¶ Howe Acedux, a Spanyarde, by treason conueyde the pledges of Spayne fro the Carthaginenses, and delyuered them to the Romans. Ca. xix.

Than was there in Sagunt a noble spanyard, called Acedux, who before that tyme had ben very faythfull to the Carthaginenses: but than (as it is the facion of many of the common sort of men) whan fortune fayled, his faith lykewyse chaunged. He imagined with hym selfe, what way he myght best attayne the frendshyp of the Romans. After many sundry imaginations, he thought sooneste to bryngе it about, if he might finde the meanes, to delyuer them those noble mens children, whiche were left at Sagunt as pledges and suerties. For by that meanes he thought the Romans myght beste wynne the hartis of the princis of Spain. But this enterprise he thought he coulde not compasse, onlesse he myght obteyne the fauour of one Bostar, who lay encamped without the citie vpon the shoore of the ryuer, with a good numbre of Spaniardes, for the sure kepyng of the citie, and to stoppe the Romanes the entre that way from the hauen, without whose cõmandement he knewe well the kepers of the pledges wolde nothyng do. Than Acedux thought with crafte to assay Bostar, and went to the campe where he lay, desyryng secretely to speake with hym: And fyrst he beganne to shew hym the daunger that the countrey was in, consyderyng the stronge armye of the Romans, whiche was than at hande. He shewed hym also, that the Spaniardes had so longe continued in the frendeshyp of the Carthaginenses, for feare more than for loue. And all by cause the Romane army was so farre from theym: but nowe syns they were come ouer Iberus, it was to be feared, leste they wolde all yelde them selues vnto Scipio. Wherfore he desyred hym to worke wysely therin.

¶ Whan Bostar demaunded of him, what he wold haue him to do for remedy therof, he answered: I wold aduyse you, to sende the children of the noble mẽ, whom ye haue as pledges in this towne, to their parentes frendes and cities: so shal ye get all theyr hartes and loues by this kyndnes shewyng, whiche ye can neuer get with feare. For whan they fynde, that ye

put

put truſt in them, ye ſhall the more bynde them to be faithful. And I my ſelfe wyll gladly take the peyne to delyuer agayne the pledges to theyr frendes: and ſo worke, that I wyll get theyr hartes to you moche more than ye nowe haue. Boſtar, meanynge all truthe and playnnes, was anone perſwaded to the ſame purpoſe, and graunted hym the conduite of the ſureties. Than went Acedux priuyly to Scipio his tentes, and there declared vnto hym the good wyll that he bare towarde hym and the Romanes: And appoynted with hym the tyme and place of delyuere of the pledges. Than went Acedux agayn to Boſtar, of whom he receyued ſpeciall cõmandementes and tokens to the kepers of the pledges, to go with him, takyng with them the pledges, whan he wold requyre theym. Than ſhewed he the kepers of the chyldren, that he wolde depart from the citie in the nyght, to thintente the better to eſcape the danger of the watches of the Roman hoſte. Wherfore he wylled theym to be redy to ryde with hym, whan he called on theym at an howre certayne in the nyght folowinge: They as innocentes in the matter, made all thynges redye to departe at the howre appoynted, at whyche howre he fayled not to come. Thus departed he from the cytie, both with the chyldren and alſo their kepers, and ere they were ware, he ledde theym amonge a numbre of Romaynes, that by his crafty appoyntement were layde in imbuſhementes for the ſame purpoſe: where they were all taken, and brought to Scipio, who delyuered the pledges to theyr cities and frendes: wherby he gate the loue of the more parte of the cities in Spayne: ſo that they were redy to take armour to the ayde of the Romans, whan ſo euer Scipio commaunded them. Theſe thynges were doone in Spayne, the ſeconde yere of the battayl betwene the Carthaginenſes and the Romaynes.

¶ Fabius being at Rome in displesure, Minutius maister of the horsmen fighteth with Annibal, putteth him to the worse, & therfore is made halfe rular of the hoost with Fabius, he fyghteth with him again, & is put to flight, & relcued by Fabi⁹. Ca. xx.

NOwe let vs returne to Fabius, who by his wyse absteining from battayl had saued many of the Romans from death: Neuer the lesse it was thought at Rome by many, that his hart failed him, and that he trifled forth the tyme, onely to thintent his empire and rule myght the longer contynue, and that he cared not, what coste the citie were at, in fyndyng so great an army, so that he myght be at rest with honour. Thus had he gotten many enemies at Rome. And to encrease their malice towarde him, Annibal wrought a meruaylous subtyltie; he sente a numbre of his men to spoyle the cuntrey, and commaunded them in any wyse to do no hurt to the landes of Fabius: of whiche he gate the knowlege by certayne that were fledde to hym from the Roman army. This did he, to the intent it shuld be thought, that som secret bargayn or conspiracy was made betweene hym and Fabius. Whyche crafty act of Annibal caused Fabius to be the more suspect tothe senate of Rome. But to take awaye that suspection from hym, Fabius sent his sonne, and solde the grounde or feldes, whiche were not violated by Anniballes subtiltie. Nowe fortuned it also to encrease Fabius euyll wyll at Rome, that after his departing from the hoste, Minutius, the mayster of the horsemen, beinge lefte to guyde the armye, caused the campe and tentes, whiche were by Fabius sette safe in the hyghe hylles, to be broughte downe and pytched in the lowe valeys: And there they were disposed after the discretion of the capteyn, thynkyng eyther to make a skyrmishe with them that went abrode to robbe, or els to inuade thē that were left behind in the tētis ¶ Annibal, knowing that he shuld kepe warre with a captein moche vnlyke the other, and that his ennemies wolde order their busynes more quyckly than wysely, and perceyuyng his enemies to draw more nere vnto him: he sent the thyrd part of his souldiors to robbe and wast the cuntreys, the other .ii. partes he kept within theyr tentes. Than remoued he his campe

more

more nere to the Romãs, & abode vpõ a certain hyll, where as the Roman hoſt might perceiue, that they were redy to ſuccour their robbers, if any aſſaut were made on thẽ. This did he of purpoſe, to entiſe the Romans to batail. Than could Minutius no lõger forbere, but ſent a good nũber of horſmen, to aſſaile the robbers, who diſtroid many of them that were ſparkled abrode ſeking their pray. Than cam Annibal to the reſcue of his men. But fortune ſo ſerued the Romanes, that as they were moſt buſy in fighting: One Numerius Decimus, a cappytain of the Sammites cam to the ſuccour of the Romans with viii. M. fotemen, & .ii. C. horſmen, by whoſe help they bet Anniball to his cãpe & ſlew .vi. M. of his men. which glad tydinges Minutio (although he had loſt in the ſame batell v. M. of his owne men, ſent in his boſting letters to Rome, wherwith the citie was moch cõforted. Not withſtanding Fabius (whan all the citie was mery, wold nother beleue the newes, nor the letters. At the laſt he ſaid, if al were trewe, he rather feared their proſperous aduenture, than reioyſed therin. Whyche ſaying cauſed him greatly to be hated of the citezens, & Marcus Metellus openly rebuked Fabius therfore, ſayinge, that he kept his men in theyr campes, more lyke captiues and priſoners, than men of warre. Specially it was not to be ſuffred that he being preſent, wold not only ſuffer nothing to be done valyantly agaynſt his enemies, but now alſo being abſent, held againſt the thing that was well done by his maſter of horſmẽ. Fabius anſwered but fewe wordes, for he thought they ſhuld be euyll harde: but he ſayd, that where .ii. yeres paſt, the citie had ſuſteined great harmes and loſſe through the foliſhe hardyneſſe of the gouernours, he douted not, but yf he myght beare rule and haue his mynde, he wolde make it euident to all men, that fortune coulde lyttell do or worke againſt a good captain: but that wiſdom & reaſon ſhuld haue the dominion ouer al her chances. He ſaid further, that he had ſaued his hoſt from a cruel enmy, in al this perillous time without harme or ſhame: which he thought, ought more to be praiſed, thã to kyl a great nũbre of enmies. But in concluſion, the determination of the ſenate was, that M. Atrilius Regulus ſhuld be conſull in the plabe of Flãminius: And that Minutius, the maiſter of the horſemen (who ſo nobly had gouerned his army) ſhuld be halfe ruler of the hoſte with Fabio, & the gouernãce therof to be parted betwene thẽ.

With

¶ With these displesant actes of the senate Fabius returned to his army, trustyng, that although Minutius shoulde haue halfe the rule with hym, yet shuld he want the policy and maner of ordryng his part of the army to him cõmitted: whiche policy by exercyse and great trauayle he had obteyned. Minutius perceyuyng hym selfe to be had in suche estymation at Rome, as wel with the senators as with the commons, where he was before a lyttell proude, he than beganne to take moch more on hym, bostyng hym selfe, that in theyr great calamitie, he alone was founde out a captayne able to matche Annibal. And than began he to diuise of the parting of their empyre or rule. He wold haue had it so parted, that one day or one weke he shulde haue ruled all: And one other day or weke, Fabius to rule al, and so to take the hole gouernance by tourne. That wolde Fabius none of: but wolde haue the army parted betwene them, with the ordynances and other necessaries. Sayyng, that in case he coulde not by his counsayle saue the hole hoste: yet he wold assay to saue the halfe therof, as wel as he myght. And on that poynt they agreed, and thervpon deuyded theyr companies or legions, and also theyr campes. This debate and order of the Romayn capytayns was knowen to Annibal by espyes, as were all other thinges that were done in the tentes of his ennemies, whyche tydynges brought to hym double ioye. One was, for that he thought to vanquisshe the foolysshe hardynes of Minutius euen as he wolde hym selfe. The other was, for that halfe the strengthe of Fabius was dymynysshed, by reasone of the partynge of the hoste. Thanne was there a hylle betweene the hooste of Annibal, and the host of Minutius, which hyll who so euer had goten, shuld be able to do moche displeasure to his enemies. Annibal desyred not so moche to take it without batayle (although the occupation therof shuld be to hym very necessary) as to make it an occasion of batail to Minutius: whom, he wist wel, wold euer run to withstande his enterprise in the attaining therof. A fielde there was in the myddell betwene hym and the sayd hyll, whyche fielde was very playne and fayre, and appeered moche vnmete for treason, to hyde any embushement in, bycause it was nother couered with woode, shrubbes, nor bussshes. It semed therfore a place rather mete to descry treson than to hyde it, for that in a plaine and bare valey no suche deceyte

ceyte myght be feared. But than Annibal eſpied, that in the bottome of the ſayd hyll were diuers caues and holowe places in the rockes, of whiche ſome were able to receyue and hyde.ii.C. ſouldiours armed. In theſe darke caues Annibal hydde.v.M. footemen and horſemen: not withſtandyng leſt the noyſe or the bryghtnes of the harneys myghte happen to diſcouer his diſceyte, he ſent a fewe in numbre the next mornyng to take the foreſayd hyll, wherby he withdrew the eies of his ennemies from lokyng to that place of embuſſhement. Whan the company that went to the hyll, were apperceyued by the Romanes, to be ſo fewe in numbre, they ſet nought by them, and euery man coueted to go to dryue theyr ennemies from that hyll. And alſo the Capytayne no leſſe foolyſhe than they, called his men to harneys, thretenynge his ennemyes with vayne wordes. Fyrſt he ſent lyght harneyſed yong men: than he ſent forthe horſemen, whiche were a great company: laſte of all, hym ſelfe commeth with his hole armye. And as Annibal ſawe occaſion, and the battayle encreaſe, he ſent euer of his men bothe fotemen and horſemen, to ſuccour his people, ſo that the battayle was furnyſhed on bothe partes, and waxed very ſtronge. The Romans were thought to be of a great boldnes and courage, and ſhulde haue done well, yf the battayle had ben equally handled, they were ſoo encouraged with theyr late victorye: but ſodeynly came thoſe that were hydde in the caues forthe on them, makyng great clamour and rumour on theyr ſides and backes, ſo that they ſurpriſed with feare, had nother hartes to fyght, nor hope to flye. Than Fabius fyrſt hearyng the noiſe, and after ſeing the hoſt troubled afarre of: Fortune (ſayd he) hath caught theyr foly, no ſoner than I feared it wolde: nowe he that is ioyned with Fabius in the empire, hath found Annibal ouerhard for hym, both in power and alſo in Fortune. But it is not now tyme (ſayd he) to chyde, I wyll referre that, tyll more opportunitie. Than cauſed he his men to diſplay theyr baners beyonde the valey, and in good aray came forwarde to the helpe of his felowes, that ſome were fledde, and ſome redy to flee, ſo that they all thought, that he cam as it were one ſent from heauen to their ſuccours. And before he ſhulde come to the caſting of dartes or to handeſtrokes, Annibal called backe his men from chaſyng any further theyr ennemies that fled, and ſodeinly withe-

drewe hym to his campe, saying, that he had ouercome Minutius, but that he was also ouercome of Fabius. Than many of the Roman army, that by fleing were scatered and sparkled abrode, ranne to the hooste of Fabius: many other that dyd flee before theyr ennemies, tourned agayne to their company: so that there was almooste one battayle of them that were ouercome, and of them that ranne to theyr succours. Whan the moste part of the day was spent vnder the variable standerde of Fortune, and that the hostes were come to theyr owne tentes, Minutius (his souldiours beynge gathered about hym, sayd:

Minutius oration.

¶I haue oftentymes, louing souldiours and frendes, hearde say, that he is moste wyse, that can gyue counsell, and tel what is to be done in his busynes. And that he is next wise, that can obey hym that gyueth good counsayl: but he that can nother gyue good counsaile hym selfe, nor obey other mens counsail, is of all other moste abiecte and foolishe. Nowe therfore, seing that the fyrst of these giftes fortune hath denied vs, let vs kepe the seconde, and whyles we lerne to rule, let vs purpose with our selfes to obey theym that be wyse. Wherfore let vs ioyne our tentes with Fabius: And whan ye shall here me salute hym as my parent and father, you lykewyse shall salute his souldiours as your noble patrons, by whose strength and hardynes this day ye were preserued.

¶Thus incontinent they remoued theyr campe, and went to the campe of Fabius, whereof he marueyled not a lyttell. Whan the two legyons were mette togither, and salutations had, after longe protestation made by Minutius to Fabius, they toke eyther other by the handes, and the souldyours lykewyse entertaynynge gentylly the one the other. There Minutius submytted hym and his men to be vnder the protection of Fabius, resigning cleane the authoritie of the empire and rule into his handes, whyche he accompted to be to hym a burthen rather than an honour: desyryng him that he might be agayne in the office of the mayster of horsemen, as he was before. Whan this was knowen at Rome, and affirmed to be true, not only by the letters of the capitaynes, but also of the soudiours of both partis, the praise of Fabius was eleuate to the heauens, and he had no lesse praise of Annibal and his host who as than felt, that they had to do with the Romanes, and

that

that they kept warre in Italy. For the two yeres paſt, they ſo lyttell dyd eſteme bothe the capytayne of Rome, and alſo the ſouldyours, that they could ſcarſely beleue, that they fought with thoſe people, whome they had hearde of theyr fathers, were ſo moche to be doubted. And it was ſayde, that Annibal going from the battayle dyd ſay, that than at the lengthe the cloude, whyche ſatte ſo longe on the hyghe hylles, ſente downe his perylous ſtorme.

¶ Of Lucius Aemilius Paulus, and L. Terentius Varro conſulles, and the oration of Q. Fabius Maximus to Paulus, before his departynge from Rome, towarde his hoſte. Capitulo. xxi.

NOt longe after, Lucius Aemilius Paulus, and L. Terentius Varro were choſen conſulles. And after that all other offycers were choſen, the armye was augmented, to euery legion a thouſande footemen, and one hundred horſemenne. What the numbre was of the newe hoſt is ſcarſely agreed amonge wryters. Some holde, that they were of the Romaynes. lxxxvii. M. L. whanne the battayle was holden at Cannas. L. Terentius, before he departed the citie, openly made dyuers orations, wherin he declared, that the warre in Italy was through certayne of the noble menne of the cytie, whyche warre ſhulde longe tyme continue amonge them, yf they ſhulde haue many ſuche captayns as Q. Fabius was. For yf he had done his deuoyre as a good capytayne, Annibal had ben ſubuerted longe before. but he promyſed, that he wolde ende the warre the ſame daye that he ſhould fyrſt meete with his ennemye. And the nexte daye before they departed oute of the cytie, Lucius Aemilius his felowe made alſo oone Oration to the people, whyche was more trewe thanne thankefull vnto the Cytezens: In the whyche he ſpake nothynge agaynſte Terentius Varro his felowe, but that he meruayled, howe any Capytayne beinge in the citie, ſhulde knowe, what he ſhulde do whan he were armed in the fielde, before he knewe other his owne hooſte,

a good numbre of men to gette them corne and cattall. but as they roued abrode vnauysedly, the Romans inuaded theym, and slewe a. M. and. vii. C. of them, with the losse of. C. of theyr men. Than wolde the Romanes haue folowed the rest in the chase, had not Paulus the consull commanded the contrary, whose turne was to rule the hoste that day. For it was before agreed betwene them, to gouerne the armye, the one, one day, and the other, the next day, and so by tourne. Than were the souldyours very angry towarde Paulus, sayinge to Uarro theyr capytayne, that if he had not letted them, they had not fayled to haue beaten Annball frome his campe, and also oute of Italye. Annball was not so sorye for the losse of his men, as he was gladde, that the Romaynes were in suche delite and ioye of theyr smalle vyctorye. Wherfore he estemed the angry consul to be redy to take any bayt that he wold laye for hym.

Of the perylous battayle of Cannas, and the vyctory that Annball had there of the Romans. Cap. xxii.

The next nyght he remoued his hoste on the further side of a great hyll, nere adioyning. There he sette his footemen in aray on the left hande: on the right he set his horsmen: al the cariage he put in the middes betwene them. He left his campe stored with moche stuffe and baggage, to the intent that whan the Romans were busy in spoylyng the tentes, he wolde sodeynly and vnwares oppresse them. And to couer his crafte the better, he made great fyres aboute the campe, before he went, that it shulde be thought, that they wolde not haue the Romans ware of theyr stealynge away, tyll they were passed farre out of their daunger. And as he thought to begyle, so had it happed in dede, had not Paulus staied his men from rūnyng thyther in suche haste: and also had not two prysoners, whyche were taken before by the Carthaginenses, escaped the same mornynge, who came to the Consuls, and declared vnto them, that the holle army of the Carthaginenses abode in arraye on the other syde of the hylle, redye to battayle.

Whan

Whan Anniball perceyued his diuyſe to be knowen, he re-
tourned agayne to his tentes, where he tarryed but a ſhorte
ſpace for lacke of vytailes, and for bareynnes of the cuntrey.
Wherfore he retourned towarde the countrey of Naples, a
more warme and plentifull cuntrey, pytchyng his campe nere
vnto Cannas. In pytchyng of whyche his campe, he wyſely
conſydered the wynde to be in the northe eaſt, that naturally
in drye grounde dryueth the powder and duſte into the ayre,
makyng it troublous darke and cloudy. Wherfore he ſoo in-
camped hym ſelfe, that his backe was towarde the wynde,
to the intent whan he ſhoulde haue to do with his ennemyes,
the duſte ſhoulde blynde theyr eyes, ſo that they ſhoulde be
moche hyndered therby. The conſulles folowyng the Car-
thaginenſes were comme to Cannas: And whan they ap-
perceyued theyr enemyes in theyr fyght, they pytched their
campes, euery Conſull by hym ſelfe, and dyuyded theyr ar-
myes to euery conſull his parte. There was a ryuer called
Auñdus, rounnynge beſyde bothe Campes, at the whyche
bothe the hooſtes, not without fyghtynge and ſkyrmyſhyng
as they hadde tyme and ſpace watered theyr horſes and cat-
tall. Annibball lykynge the place welle for the horſemenne to
fyghte in, wherein reſted his moſte truſt and chiefe ſtrengthe,
thoughte to prouoke the conſulles to battayle, and to ſtyre
theym therto, he came towarde theym in good arraye, and
cauſed the horſemenne to roumne to and fro almooſte to the
tentes of the Romaynes, byddynge theym baſe. By reaſon
whereof, there aroſe greatte dyſcorde amonge the Ro-
mayne hoſt, and the Conſulles alſo. For Paulus, not myn-
dynge to fyghte with theym at theyr pleaſures, dydde obi-
iecte vnto Varro, the fooly ſſhe hardyneſſe and lacke of diſ-
cretion of Sempronius and Flamminius. Varro contrarye
wyſe layde vnto hym the exaumple of Fabius, whome he
reckened amonge the fearefull and ſlowe Capytayns, pro-
feſſynge to the goddis, and alſoo to menne, that it oughte
not to be layde vnto hym, yf Annibball ſhoulde take Ita-
lye, and holde it as his owne: Seynge that he, and alſoo
his ſowldyours, beynge mooſte deſyrous to fyghte, were
wythholden therefrome by his felowe. Paulus lykewyſe
profeſſed, yf any euyll dyd happen to them and to theyr ſoul-
dyours, that he wold be clere and innocent of the treſpaſſe,

ſayng

on fote, the wynge of the Numidian horſemen, wherof Haſdruball was capytayne, ioyned alſo with the Romans ryghte wynge of horſemen. The battayle was ſtronge on both partes, but the Carthaginenſes vſed greate ſubtyltie, for at the firſt encounter about. v. C. of the Numidian horſmen, hauing ſwerdes ſecretely hydde vnder theyr harneys, beſydes thoſe that they dyd vſe to occupy, tourning theyr targettes behind theyr backes, makyng as though they had forſaken their hoſt and fledde from theyr company, ranne to theyr ennemies, and leapynge beſydes their horſes, caſte theyr ſwerdes and other apparant weapons at the fete of the Romans, as yelded perſons, whervpon they were receyued firſt into the myddell of the Romane hoſte, and anone they were brought to the vtter and hyndermoſt warde, and there cõmanded to ſtande tyll the ende of the batayle. And whan the battayle began on all partes, they ſtode ſtyll without fyghtynge, but after whan they ſawe that euery man was buſyed and occupied with fightyng, than drawyng forth theyr ſwerdes from vnder theyr harneys, they toke the ſheldes of them that were ſlayn in the field, and ruſſhed on the backes of the Romaynes, and ſo hewynge on theyr backes and hammes behinde, they made a great ſlaughter. And whyles that ſome parte conceyued feare and fledde, and ſome other maynteyned the batayle with ſmal hope of victory, Haſdruball ſente a greatte parte of the Numidians to chace and diſtroy the Romanes as they fled. Paulus the conſull, althoughe he was deadly wounded before, yet many tymes with his company reſtored and renewed the battayles, with the helpe of the Romane horſemen, who at length alighted fromtheyr horſes, and foughte on foote, the Conſulle for feblenes and bledynge, beinge not able to gouerne his horſe. Than the Carthaginenſes, ſeinge that theyr enemies had rather dye in the fielde, than flee: incontinent ſlewe thoſe that they coulde not make to flee: ſome they toke, and the other that were ouercome, being than ſparkeled abrode, toke ſuche horſes as they coulde get, and beganne to flee. C. Lentulus a Tribune, leadyng an empty horſe in his hande, as he fled ſawe Paulus the conſull, ſyttyng on a ſtone, all couered with blud, to whome he ſayde: Lucius Aemilius, whome the goddis ſhoulde take and eſteeme as innocent of this cruell ſlaughter, take this horſe, whyles any ſtrengthe is leſte within the, And

I beinge thy frende, ſhall lyfte the vp, and kepe the on, leſte thou make this battayle dolefull and ſorowfull throughe the deathe of a conſull, without whyche verily there is cauſe of weping and mournyng inough. Whervnto the conſull anſwered: L. Cornelius, be thou increaſed in vertue, but beware leſt whyles thou doeſt bewaile this chaunce, thou haue ſmalle tyme to eſcape thy ſelfe: Go thou therfore, and bydde the ſenate, that they make ſtrong the walles of Rome, and ſtrength it with ſuccours, before the conquerour come: And ſecretly ſhewe vnto Quintus Fabius, that Lucius Aemilius Paulus doth fyrmly remembre his preceptes, ye and lyueth in them, and fynally dyeth in them. And I pray the, ſuffer me to paſſe the lyfe amonge theſe companye of my deade knyghtes, leſt by lengar lyuynge, I become an accuſer of my felowe, defendynge myne innocency by the treſpas of an other, and yet at length dye, taken as fauty of this dede.

¶ The company of them whych fled, trode the Conſull vnder foote, and after his enemiſe, not knowynge who he was, dyd ouerpreſſe hym. There was ſlayn at that battayle fortye thouſande footemen, and two thouſande and ſeuen hundred horſemen, in whyche company was ſlayne one of the conſulles, with foure ſcore Senatours, and ſuch as had borne great offyce in the cytie, whyche voluntarily gaue theym ſelues to that battaile. Furthermore. xxi. that had borne office of Tribunes, beſydes that in that batayle were taken. iii. thouſande footemen, and. iii. hundred horſemen. Of the Romans that eſcaped by fleinge. vii. thouſande came into the ſmaller campe, and. x. M. fledde to the greater campe. And whan the bataile was fynyſhed, thoſe Romaynes that were retourned to the greatter campe, ſente to the other, whyche were in the leſſe campe, to repayre vnto theym in the nyghte, whyle theyr ennemies, beinge weary of trauayle, and ioyfull of theyr victory, were gyuen to take theyr reſte, but they doubted to take on theym that enterpryſe, ſayinge, that it were as meete that they of the greatte campe ſhoulde come to theym: but that for the daunger of paſſynge the hoſte of theyr ennemies they were afearde ſo to doo. Thus the moſt refuſed to goo out of the campe, not withſtandyng ſuch as were hardy and valiant, by the great & noble exhortatiõ of P. Sẽpronius Tuditanus, a tribune, iſſued out, & came throughe their enmies in the night

with their sheldes on the ryght syde towarde the host of the Carthaginenses: wherby they passed by them, receyuing the arowes and dartes that were shotte at them, vpon theyr saide shieldes: and so came to the great campe, to the noumber of iii. M. vi. C. and from thens, takyng with them many of the other of that company, escaped at theyr pleasure to Cannusium. The other consul, with. l. horsemen, fledde to Venusia.

How Annibal ordered his busynes after the battayle, and howe ponge Scipio vsed hym selfe, for the saueynge of the commen wealthe. Capit. xxiii.

The battayle thus ended, diuers of the army came to Annibal, and wylled him to rest all that day, and the nyght after his greate labour: but Maharbal was therewith nothinge contented, saying: You shuld nowe incontinent with your horsemen, folowe the Romans to Rome in suche spede, that they shall knowe ye be alredy come, before they heare of your cōmyng: And thus doing, the conclusyon wyll be, that within fyue dayes ye shall lyke a conquerour dyne in the capytoll of Rome. Than sayd Annibal: The way is longe, and we had nede of counsayle or we vndertake so great an enterpryse. At lengthe he allowed the harte and noble courage of Maharbal: but he sayd, he wolde deliberate vppon that enterpryse. Than answered Maharbal: The goddis haue not gyuen all thynges to one man: thou canste well ouercome thyne ennemies, Annibal, but whan the vyctorye is gyuen to the, thou canste not vse it. And it was thought, that the same one days reste and slacknes, was the cause of the sauegarde of the city of Rome, and also of all the whole empire.

Annibal, after that he had rested the fyrst nyght, sente his people to the fielde, to see whether any of theyr ennemyes shulde reuyue agayne, and as they sawe or perceiued any like to recouer, he was incontinent slayne: and he proceded and toke the campes, and all theym that were in them. Wherein was a great numbre of men, for beinge afrayde to folow their company, they remayned styll in theyr campes. And he was contented, that the captiues shulde be raunsomed, euery one after

after his degree, the Romans .iii. C. peces of ſyluer: other that came to theyr ſuccours and of Italy .ii. C. and theyr ſeruantes for .i. C. Whiche money beinge ones payde for theyr redemption, they ſhuld haue libertie to go to theyr cuntreis. This done, he cauſed the deade bodyes of his owne hoſt to be ſearched and buried, whyche were to the numbre of .viii. M. amonge whyche he cauſed the body of the Conſulle to be buryed.

¶ There was a certayn woman of a noble kynred called Buſa, whyche ſuccoured the Romans that were fledde to Cannuſium, bothe with meate, drynke, clothe, and other neceſſaries, for whyche dede, the warre beynge fynyſhed, ſhe was had with the Romaynes in great honour. There were that time in Cannuſium .iiii. Tribunes, whiche were Fabius Maximus the yonger, and Lucius P. Bibulus. P. Cornelius Scipio, and Appius Claudius Pulcher, they al, by the aſſent alſo of the other ſouldyours, gaue the whole rule and gouernance of the whole company of the Romanes, whyche were there, to P. Scipio, beyng than very yonge, and to Appius Claudius: To whome, whan they were conſultyng amonge other for the profyte of the common welth, P. Furius Philius ſayd, that theyr counſell was but in vayne, for to reſtore and bringe agayne that, whyche was vtterly loſte: And that the common wealthe was deſerte and cleane ſubuerted: aduyſyng the noble yonge men to folow the purpoſe of Lucius Cecilius Metellus, and to take hym as theyr gouernoure, who was redy, with many other with hym, to depart the city in haſte, takynge theyr ſhyppes, whiche were purpoſely ordeyned for theym, and by the ſea to flee ouer to ſome prynce or kyng for ſuccour. Whyche cruell counſell ſodeynly gyuen after theyr great loſſe and myſfortune, made them very fearefull and in great doubte what they ſhulde do: in ſo moche that many, beinge there preſent, thought to deliberate on the matter. Whyche deliberation yonge Scipio (elect by deſteny to fynyſhe the ſame warres agaynſt the Carthaginenſes) denied and diſpiſed. We muſt (ſayth he) be bolde, and valyantly enterpryſe thynges in ſo great a myſchiefe, and not ſtande longe conſultyng vpon them. Wherfore he commaunded, that ſoo many as wolde haue the common welthe ſafe, ſhulde go with hym armed. And than he with a fewe folowyng hym, went to

Metellus lodgynge, where fyndynge an assemble of yonge men in coniuration vppon the deuise of Furius Philus, before declared, he helde his naked swearde ouer theyr heades, and sayde: With my whole mynde and wyll, I sweare that I shall neuer leaue the common wealthe of the cytie of Rome, nor shall suffer any citezen of Rome to leaue it. And if I wyllyngly be false, than I pray the mighty and omnipotent Jupyter, to distroy my house, my familye, and all my goodes, with mooste vyleste destruction. Whiche othe I requyre of the Lucius Cecilius, and of all other that are here presente. And he that wyll not sweare the same, lette hym knowe, that my naked swerde shall passe through hym. All they beyng no lesse feared with his wordes, than yf Annibal had bene present, toke the same othe, and commytted theym selues to the tuition of Scipio.

¶ While these thinges were done at Canusium, there were gathered togither about. iii. M. horsemen and fotemen, and were come to Venusia, where the consulle Varro was, with whyche company the consul came to Canusiū, and hauyng so great a numbre about hym, thought hym selfe able to defend them selues and the citie from Annibal.

¶ Of this great losse in the batayle newes was broughte to Rome, without any mencion of sauyng of the sayde number, that were with the consull: but that euery man was slayn, and no Roman left on lyue. Whyche newes causedas great feare and rumour in the cytie, as euer was hearde there before: In soo mocheh that it was bruted abroode, that nother capitayn nor souldiour was left in the Roman campes, and that almooste all Jtaly was yelded to Annibal. Wherefore they loked euery howre, whan theyr ennemies wolde come to besiege the cytie of Rome. Whervppon the senatours prepared at Rome all thynges necessary for the succours of the citie. Than they ordeyned theyr legyons and offycers. Marcus Junius, by the whole consent of the Senate, was chosen Dictator, and Titus Sempronius mayster of the horsemē. There was also by the same auctorite chosen. 4. legions, and a thousande horsemen of yonge men, of the age of. xvii. yeres, besydes that they sente to theyr frendes in other places of Jtalye, that they also shoulde prepare sowldyours of the same sorte, with horse, harneys, and all other necessaries.

The

¶The cytie thus beinge in extreme feare, letters came from the Conſull Terentius to Rome, certifyenge the Senate of the loſſe of the battayle, and of his felowe the other Conſul. And howe he with the leauynges of the hooſte, that eſcaped at the battayle, were at Canuſium, to the noumbre of tenne thouſand men. Whych newes ſomwhat comforted the hartes of the citezens.

¶Nowe lette vs retourne to Annibal, who beynge buſyed about his pryſoners, ſuffered tenne of the Romayn captiues, in the name of all the other, to go to Rome, to ſee yf the fathers conſcript, or any of theyr frendes wolde redeme them, and theyr company that were pryſoners: deſyrynge of theſe tenne meſſangers none other ſuerties for theyr retourne, ſauynge theyr othe. With whom he ſent a noble baron of Carthage, to the intent, that yf it ſhulde happe theym to intreate of peace, he myghte brynge the condycions thereof with hym: The pryce of the redemption of a Romayne horſeman was fyue hundred peces of ſyluer, called Quadrigati, ſo named for that the coygne bare in it the pryntof a charyote: The pryce of a Romane cytezen was thre hundred: the price of a ſeruaunt was one hundred. All other pryſoners of Italy, that camme to the helpe of the Romayns, he lette go free to theyr countreys without raunſome. And whan it was ſhewed the councell, that they were come to Rome, a meſſanger mette this baron of Carthage, whoſe name was Carthabo, and ſhewed hym, that the Dictator commaunded, that he ſhulde depart from the boundes of Rome, before the nyght. ¶Sone after the Senate or parlyament was holden for the captyues meſſangers, where one of theym, that was of moſt authoritie, thus began to ſay & openly pronounce his oracion.

¶The oration of the captiue priſoners made to the ſenate for theyr redemption. Cap. xxiiii.

IT is not vnknowen to you all (Fathers conſcript) that there was neuer more wretched & vyle priſoners to any citie, thā haue ben to this our citie. Not withſtandyng vnles we ſtand very moch in our owne conceit, there were neuer Romans takē priſoners in warre, which were leſſe

leſſe worthy to be diſpyſed vnto you than we be nowe. For truely we dyd not yeld vp our harneys and wepons in battel, for feare as cowardes, but whan it drewe toward night, standyng vpon heapes of deade bodies, we withdrewe from the battayle, and went to our tentes, where as we beinge bothe weary with labour, and ſoore wounded, kepte our ſelues in ſauegarde the reſidue of the day and nyght folowynge. The nexte daye, whanne we perceyued that we were incloſed and conſtrayned with the hooſte of our ennemies, wantynge alſo water, and ſeinge no hope of eſcapyng through the thycke hooſte and companye of oure ennemyes, and conſyderynge that it were wyſedome, and not ſoundynge to diſhonour, ſeing that fifty thouſand were ſlayne of our company, that ſome ſhulde be lefte of our ſouldyours at this battayle alyue: We than in concluſion agreed with them for our raunſom, that we myght be delyuered. And than we yelded vp our weapons, whiche coulde lyttell preuayle vs. We haue hearde, that our elders were redemed from the frenchmen, ye and our fathers being moſte fiers and hardy, were gladde to ſende to Tarent for conditions of peace, bycauſe of redeming their captiues, but in Italye with the Frenchemen, and at Heracleam with Pyrrhus, bothe the batayles were accompted wretched and full of infamy, bicauſe of the cowardiſe and fleing of our people, but ſo was it not with vs. The deade bodies doo ouerſprede the fieldes at Cannas, nother hadde we eſcaped the death, but that for our enemyes, for wearynes in kyllyng and ſleinge, lacked both ſtrength and weapons. There be many of vs, whiche neuer came to battayle, but beinge left to kepe the campe; whan the tentes were yelded, they likewiſe came vnder ſubiection to theyr ennemies. Uerily I doo not enuye the eſtate or fortune of any citezen, or of my felawe in warre nother wolde I, that my fame ſhoulde be extolled and rayſed by the infamy of other: but truely they ought to haue lyttell rewarde or prayſe, vnleſſe it be of the agilitie and ſwyftenes of theyr fete, whyche being vnarmed for the moſte parte fleinge from battayle, neuer ceaſſed tyll they came to Uenuſia or Cannuſium: yet do they preferre them ſelues before vs iuſtly and not without a cauſe, as they thynke. Ye and they reioyſe and boſte, that there remayneth in theym more ſuccour and helpe to the common welthe than in vs. But we wolde ye

ſhulde

ſhulde receyue and take them as good and ſtronge men. And alſo to thynke vs to be hereafter more prompt and wylling to mayntеyn our countrey, by howe moche we may be redemed and reſtored into the ſame by your benefytes. Ye haue taken the muſter of all your people of al ages and ſortes, and I here ſay, ye haue choſen. viii. thouſande of your bondemen to the warre, and there is of vs no leſſe a numbre, nother wylle our redemyng coſte any more than theyr bying wyll coſt. Truely yf I ſhulde compare theym, beinge ſeruauntes and bonde, vnto vs citezens and free, I ſhoulde greately diſhonour the name of Rome. But this I wold ye ſhuld remembre fathers conſcripte, in ſuche a councell, yf ye wyll be ſo hard harted, as to refuſe vs (whiche yf you doo, you ſhall doo withoute our deſeruyng) to whiche of our enemyes wyll ye commytte vs: to Pyrrhus? or elles to Annibal? in whom it is harde to be iudged, whether dothe remayne more crueltie or auarice. If ye dyd ſee the bandes and chaines, with which your citezens are bounde, the filthynes and deformitie that they are in: certes it wolde no leſſe moue and pitie you, than yf ye ſaw your legions lying deade, coueryng the feldes of Cannas. Ye may beholde the ſorowe, the heuynes, and the teares of our frendes and kynsfolke ſtandyng at the porche of the ſenate, taryeing for your anſwere. And ſens they be ſo ſorowful for vs and for them that be abſent in priſon, what myndes wold you ſuppoſe thoſe priſoners to haue, whoſe life and libertie is in dout, and hangeth nowe in balance? Certainly if Annibal, contrary to his owne nature, wold be meke and gentyl to vs, yet neuer the leſſe wolde not we deſyre to lyue, in caſe we ſhall be thought of you, our noble fathers, vnworthy to be redemed. Shulde I deſyre the retourne into my countrey, yf beinge a citezen I ſhulde not be eſtemed by you worth. iii. C. peces of ſyluer? Lette euery man do as he wyll fathers conſcripte, I knowe my body and lyfe to be in doubt: but the ieopardye of our name and fame dothe more moue and greue me, that we ſhoulde be reckened vnto you as abiectes and caſtes awaye. for there is no man that wyl ſuppoſe you to ſpare our redemtion for coſte.

¶ When he hadde made an ende of his oration, there aroſe a great noyſe and wepynge amonge the people, both men and women, that were frendes vnto the ſayd captiues, who helde

theyr handes towarde the Senatours, desyryng them to restore theyr brethern and chyldren. After many and dyuerse contrary opinyons hadde in the senate: somme supposynge it mete, that they shoulde be redemed with the common treasure, and some contrarye. T. Manlius Torquatus, a man of ouer harde and cruell nature (as it was thought to many) beinge desyred to shewe his sentence and iudgement, beganne thus to saye.

¶ The lore aunswere of T. Manlius Torquatus to the captiues oration, wherin he dissuaded their redemption. Cap. xxv.

IF the legates, that were sent hyther for the redemption of our captiues, had all onely made petition for those, who are taken prysoners, that they might be restored, I wold haue shewed my mynd brefely, without rehersall of any of theyr feates, for of what ought you rather to be admonysshed, than to obserue the custome, left by your fathers, as concernynge busynes of warre by example necessary. But nowe, bycause they almost reioyse and glory, that they yelded theym selues to theyr ennemies, and thynke it meete they shoulde be preferred not onely before those, whyche were taken prysoners in batayle, but also before those that escaped to Venusia and Cannusium, ye and before Terentius Varro the consulle: I shall declare vnto you fathers conscripte all that was doone there, ye and I wolde to the goddis, that these thinges, whyche I am about to shewe vnto you, myght speake at Cannusium before the hoste. Whyche wolde be a sure wytnesse of euery mannes cowardyse and sluggy shenes, and also of theyr hardynes and vertue: or els I wold that Publius Sempronius were here present, whom yf they had folowed, they had be now in sauegarde in the Romane tentes, and not captiues with theyr ennemyes. For whan theyr enemyes were weery of fyghtynge, and alsoo reioycynge of theyr victory, and the mooste parte of theym retourned to theyr tentes: they myght haue hadde the nyghte free without interruption to

haue

haue eſcaped. Verely .vii. thouſande armed men myght than haue eſcaped through theyr ennemyes, takyng ſo lytell hede to them, but truely nother wolde they enterpriſe this thynge theym ſelues, nor folowe them that wolde take on them that aduenture. All the nyght longe almoſte Sempronius ceaſſed not to admonyſhe and exhorte them, that they ſhould folowe hym as theyr capytayne, whyles there were but fewe of their ennemyes about theyr tentes, whiles euery man was at reſt & ſcilence, and whyles the nyght dyd couer and hide theyr purpoſe: Shewynge theym, that they ſhoulde come into ſauegarde, aud to theyr frendes before the day, as by the memory of our grandfathers, Publius Decius dyd in Samnio, and as Calphurnius Flamma, whan we were but yonge men, dyd in the firſt warres Punicke, to. iii. hundred that wyllyngely folowed hym. Whan he hadde brought them to take a hylle whyche was in the myddell of their ennemyes: Let vs here dye ſowldiours (ſayde he) and let vs throughe our death delyuer our legyons and army, whyche are incloſed and beſiged by our ennemies. If Publius Sempronius had ſpoken ſuche wordes to you, and yf none of you had ben of ſuche hardynes to conſent to him, he myght haue ſuppoſed you neyther to be men, nor Romaynes: but he ſhewed you a moche more eaſye way, whyche wolde brynge you as well to glory and prayſe, as to healthy and profyte. He made hym ſelfe a capytayne and guyde to bryng you to your cuntrey to your fathers, to your wyues, and chyldren: But you lacked audacitie to folowe hym, what wolde you haue done, yf he wolde haue moued you to haue dyed for your countrey? Fifty thouſande citezens, and of your frendes laye deade about you that daye in the fielde. If the examples of hardyneſſe and vertue of ſoo many noble menne, wolde nat moue you, there is nothynge that euer ſhall moue you? If ſuche ſlaughter of your frendes dothe not cauſe you to haue ſmalle eſtymation of youre owne lyues, nothynge ſhall euer moue you thereto? You ſhoulde haue deſyred youre countreye, whyles ye were free, ſafe and ſounde, yea you ſhoulde haue deſyred it, whyles it was youre countrey, nowe doo ye deſyre it to late. Ye be cleane ſeparate from it. ye are vtterly alienate frome the ryght of the Cytezens. Ye are nowe made ſeruauntes vnto the Carthaginenſes. Wylle ye be redemed frome thenſe

whither you wyllyngly went with cowardyse, slowenes and wyckednes? you wolde not here Sempronius your citezen commaundynge you to take harneys and to folowe hym. but soone after you hearde Annibal, commandynge you to yelde your armour and your tentes? Why doo I accuse (Fathers conscript) theyr slouthfulnes and cowardise, whan I may rather accuse theyr wicked and abhominable facte? they dyd not onely refuse his counsaile which was profitable: but also they went about to withstande hym, and to constrayne hym to forsake the common welthe: vnles noble men with theyr naked swerdes hadde put them from their purpose. Publius Sempronius was driuen (I say) fyrst to escape by manful courage through those his felowes and citezēs, and after through the myddell of his ennemies. And shulde this citie and countrey desyre the restitution of suche citezens, whom yf the residue of their felowes, who were at Cannas, had folowed and bene lyke there had no citezen ben lefte vs of those, whiche were at the battell? of. vii. M. men there were. vi. C. that aduentured to escape and retourne free with armour to theyr countrey, nother dyd the hoste of theyr ennemyes, whyche were xl. M. men lette or hynder them: howe safe than myght the two armyes being ioyned togyther haue passed thynke you? whiche yf they had done fathers conscript, ye shoulde haue had nowe. xx. M. stronge and hardy souldiours at Cannuiii. but nowe howe can these be accompted for good and faythful citezens (as for bolde they wyll not call them selfes) whyche had rather to lye lurkyng in theyr tentes, and tary bothe the day and theyr ennemyes, than to endeuour them selues with theyr company to escape awaye in the nyghte? but seing that theyr hartes wolde not serue theym to auoyde theyr tentes, was it lyke (trowe ye) that they shulde haue hardynes to cōserue & kepe the same tētes? They say, that where they were besyeged for certayne days and nyghtes they defended them selues, and at the length, whan they had suffered the extremitie, whan all the necessaries to their lyfe dyd fayle theym, than they being ouerpressed with hungre, coulde noo longer susteyn battaile. And they say they were rather ouercome for lacke of humayne necessities than with batayle. This greate warre that ye speake of, lastyng two days, was ended in two howres. Annibal came to the tentes before the sonne arose to whom

whome without any battayle gyuen or reſiſtence made, they yelded vp theyr weapons and them ſelues. Whan they ſhuld haue fought in the battayle, they fledde to theyr campe, and whan they ſhuld haue defended theyr campe, they nother profitable in the battaile nor in theyr tentes, yelded vp campe and all. Shuld ſuch a ſorte be redemed? I thynke them (fathers cõſcript) no more worthy to be redemed, than I thynke them worthy to be yelded to Annibal, whiche eſcaped from theyr tentes through the myddell of theyr ennemies: And through theyr great hardines reſtored them ſelues to theyr countrey. Whan Manlius had fynyſhed his oration, al though many of theym were of the kynrede and alyance to the ſenatours, yet the anſwere was gyuen them, that they ſhuld not be redemed. And that for two cauſes, the one was for the olde exaumple of the citie, that had euer lyttell fauoured the redemption of captiue pryſoners. An other was, the greate ſumme of money that muſte be payde for them. wherof theyr treaſure had ben before made bare with manyfolde charges of warre. And alſo they were loth that Annibal, than being nedy of money, ſhulde with theyr ſubſtance be ſo greatly enryched. Than beganne a newe mournyng for the loſſe of the cytezens. They folowed the legates with greate wepynge and ſorowe to the gates. One of thoſe tenne Romayne meſſangers, that were ſent from Annibal, after that his company departed towarde Rome, fayned that he had lefte ſome thynge behynde hym, and ſo returned to his tentes, and in the nyght ouertoke his company, by whiche fraudulent retourne, thynking him ſelfe quytte and diſcharged of his othe, wente home to his owne houſe. And there remayned ſtyl, not returnyng to Annibal: but whan his vntruth was knowen, he was taken & ſent to the tentes of the Carthaginenſes, to do with hym theyr pleaſure.

¶ Howe Pacuuius by crafte became chiefe ruler of Capua, and of the yeldyng of that citie to Annibal. Cap. xxvi.

ANnibal after the battayle at Cannas, with as greatte ſpede as he myght, went from Apulia to Samnū, and to Coſſa, and ſo to Naples, but the ſtrengthe of that towne made him afrayde to gyue aſſaut therto. Wherfore he went from thens, and came to Capua, whiche as than flouryſhed

shed in pleasure and abundance by long felicitie & fauor of fortune. Than was there in Capua one Pacuuius, a noble mā, saying that he gat not his goodes and riches by honest meanes. This Pacuuius bare gret office in the city the same yere that the Romans lost the bataile at Trasimenus: And now thynkyng to make a discord betwene the senate and the cōmon people, who long had vsed great licence and liberty without reason, and therby to increase both his authoritie and substāce, deuised a great and perillous enterprise, which was, that so sone as Annibal shuld come thyther with his army, he wold cause the commons to slea the Senatours: After whose death, he myght at his pleasure yelde the citie to the Carthaginenses. Yet at the last he consydered, that better it were for hym to rule and gouerne a cōmon welth florishing in all thinges than to rule a citie, that were vtterly subuerted and distroied (whiche he accompted to be, yf the noble men and ancient counsellers therof were slayn) he than imagined a way, that he might both saue the senate and counsel of the citie, and make the cōsell of the same, to thinke them selues bound to him and to the commune people. Wherypon he called a counsayle, wherein he shewed the senatours, that to receiue the Carthaginenses, and to leaue the Romans frendship, dyd nothyng please him, consyderynge that he had maryed Appius Claudius doughter, and also that Liuius hadde maryed one of his doughters: sauynge that necessitie dydde requyre it, bycause there was other matters in hande moche more to be doubted, whiche was, that the commune people were pourposed fyrste to slea theym all that were of the Senate howse, and after to yelde vp the citie to Annibal. Neuer the lesse he sayde, he wolde vndertake that he wolde saue theym frome daunger, yf they wolde commytte theym selues wholly to hym: wherwith he made theym greatte assurance by othes. Whan they all, beinge ouercome with feare, had consented to hym, I wyll shut you (saith he) into the senate house, as thoughe I were of the cōmons councell, and dyd alowe their dedes and purpose: but after I shall fynde a waye to conserue and saue you. And whan they were agreed to the same, he enclosed them in the capitoll, so that none could come to them, nother they gette furthe, vnlesse it were by his licence. And than he called the common people togyther, and sayd: My frendes,

nowe

nowe haue you power ouer the deteſtable and wycked ſena-
tours, whoſe death ye haue ſo longe deſyred, and that ye haue
nowe without ſtroke ſtryking. For beholde, I haue theym
encloſed in yonder howſe aboue vnarmed: And what ſentēce
ye wyll gyue of them, or any of them, that ſhall they ſuffer,
accordyng to theyr deſertes. but before all thynges, I wolde
you ſhulde haue reſpect to your helth and profite, before the
executiō of your wrath. For ſenatours I am ſure, ye wil haue
to gouerne the citie. Therfore nowe haue we two thinges to
be done togither, that is, to put downe the old ſenatours, and
than to choſe newe. I wyll wel, that you ſhall iudge what pu-
niſhment the olde ſhall haue: but firſte you ſhall chuſe a newe
valiant wiſe ſenator in euery of their places. Thā ſet he down
and cauſid their names to be put togither in writing into a pot
and as their names were ſeuerally drawen forth of the pot, he
cauſed them to be called in order, and he that was fyrſt named
he cauſed to be fetched out of the ſenate houſe, wherin they
were incloſed. And whan the cōmons herd his name, they all
cried, that he was wicked, & worthy of puniſhment. Than ſaid
Pacuuius, I here well what you ſay, lette him be caſt out for
nought, & an other choſen in his place. Than were they at the
firſt put to ſilence, bicauſe they wanted a better to be choſen in
his place. And whan any man wolde take vpon hym to name
any other man: there wold ariſe a greater rumor and noyſe at
his naming. Some ſaying, they knew him not, and ſom repre-
hending his birthe, ſome his maners, ſome the vilenes of his
craft and liuing, with ſuch other like obiections: & moch more
the noiſe was for choſing of the ſecond and third: ſo that they
al agreed, that it was rather better for them to ſuffer the olde
noughty ſenatours to remain, which they knewe, than to haue
ſuch new, as were worſe and vnknowē. ſo that they cōmanded
to let the old ſenatours go free, and vſe their romthes. After
this maner Pacuuius gat the rule of the cōmon welthe, pea-
ſybly makyng the ſenators moche more bounde to him for ſa-
uinge their lyues, than to the commons of the citie. And by
this meane by al mens conſent he had the hole gouernance of
the citie. Of this cam the loſſe of the dignitie to the ſenators,
forgetting their liberte, doing nothig in the coūſel hous with
out the cōmons aduiſe. The citie was alwayes prone & gyuen
to luſt & pleſure, not only by the noughtynes of their myndes,

but

but also by the abundance of pleasures, ryches, and other delytes, and of all fruitefulnes bothe on sea and lande, and waxed wanton through the flattery of pryncis, and ouermoche libertie of the people, folowyng theyr pleasures and lust beyonde all measure, so that they dispised both the senate and other magistrates, and also all rule and lawe. And than after the battayle of Cannas, they that had a lyttell shamefastnesse before, were not ashamed to dispise the empire of Rome. And in short tyme after, they consented to yeld vp the citie to Anniball, and to leaue the amitie of the Romans: yet before they wolde sende theyr legates to Anniball, they sent messangers to Rome, to desyre that one of theyr citie myght be euer one of the consuls at Rome, yf they wolde that they shuld helpe them in theyr busines. Wherypon there arose great indignation and angre, for that they that were before in amitie and as subiectes, shulde requyre suche equalitie of honour with the Romans. Wherfore they cõmaunded, that the legates shuld be brought out of the senate house, and further they sente an officer, who shoulde conueye theym oute of the citie, and to charge them to departe oute of the limyttes and boundes of Rome. The same legates incontinent vppon theyr retourne home, were sent to Anniball, who receyued them, and granted them all the conditions of peace, accordynge to theyr askyng, so that no ruler or magistrate of Carthage shulde hereafter clayme rule or dominion ouer any citizen of Capua, nother shulde any of them be enforsed to go in the warres, but at his owne pleasure. Agayne, that they myghte kepe stylle theyr owne lawes, with theyr rulers and magistrates. Amongest whyche requestes, they desyred. iii. C. Romane captiues to be delyuered vnto them, whiche shulde be chaunged for other. iii. C. of theyr horsemen, that kepte warre in Sicilia, whiche was not denyed theym. To this agreement, Decius Magius, a man of great authoritie (sauing that the commons were not agreable to hym) dyd vtterly withstande: fyrst willynge that no legacy shulde be sent to Anniball. And as soone as he hearde, that the agreement was made, and that Anniball wolde sende his men of armes to Capua, he shewed them for an example, the proude raygnynge of Pyrrhus: and the myserable seruitude of the Tarentines, crying alowde, that if they wolde here hym, Anniballes army shulde in no wyse be

recey-

receyued: And yf they were all redye receyued, that they ſhulde be put furth agayne.

¶As ſoone as theſe thynges were ſhewed to Annibal (as they were not ſecretely ſpoken) he cõmanded, that Magius ſhulde be taken and ſent vnto hym: but than he fearynge the diſpleaſure of the people, ſent worde to Marius the Prætor, that he wold beat Capua the next day folowyng. Marius incontinent aſſembled the people, and ſhewed all men of Anniballes commynge, commandynge them to be redy with their wyues to meete hym. And whanne he was commynge, and all the citie went to mete hym, onely Decius, with his ſonne, and a fewe of his frendes, wolde not go with them: but walked openly and ſtubburnely in the market place. As ſoone as Annibal came to the citie, he called a counſayle, myndynge in his angre to do cruell execution of his aduerſaries, not withſtandyng the rulars of the citie deſyred hym, that he ſhuld do nothing as that day, but be mery and celebrate the ſame in the worſhyp of his commynge. To whoſe requeſt (although he was of a ſodayne inclination to wrath and angre) he was conformable: and ſpent that day in vewyng the citie.

¶Pacuuius Calauius, of whome we ſpake before, who was chiefe of the citie, and chiefe cauſer of the yeldynge thereof to the Carthaginenſes, brought his ſonne, being a yong mã, thyther, whom he toke from the companye of Decius, with whom the yonge man ſtode fyrmely agaynſte the bandes and frendſhyp made with the Carthaginenſes: nother coulde the citezens, being enclyned to that parte, nother the auctoritie of his father, moue the yonge man to the ſame: vnto whome his father, with great interceſſion, made Annibal good lorde and frende. Annibal being ouercome and appeaſed with the requeſt of his father, cauſed the yonge man, with his father, to be ſent for to ſupper: at whiche ſupper there was none of Capua, ſauyng thoſe that were lodged in that howſe, and one Jubellius Taurea, a noble warriour. The ſouper was begun before the nyght, the feaſt was ſumptuous, and not after the maner of fare in warre tyme. This yongeman, nother by the prouocation of the rulars, nor by the chering of Annibal himſelfe, coulde be perſwaded to be mery, but he ſhewed his father, that he was diſeaſed, and that his minde was ſoore troubled. And whan his father hearde that, he departed oute of

the feastynge chaumbre before the sonne was sette: whome his sonne folowed. And whan they came to a gardeyn, at the ende of the house, whiche was secrete: Father (sayth he) I haue diuised nowe a way, wherby we shall not onely purchase our pardon of the Romanes, for that we haue forsaken them and chosen Hannibal to be our gouernour, but we shall stande nowe from hensforth in moche more dignitie and grace with them, than euer we were before. Whan his father (meruaylyng what it myghte be) had inquired of hym that diuise: he caste his gowne from hym, and shewed his syde beinge gyrte with a swerde: Nowe wyll I (sayde he) establysshe and sanctifye the bandes betwyxte the Romaynes and vs, with the bloudde of Annibal: Of this counsayle father, I thoughte to make the priuey before, for bycause I knewe not, whether thou haddest rather be present, whyles the deede were doinge or not. Whyche diuyse whan the olde manne hearde (as thoughe he hadde be presente at the doynge of that whyche was spoken) with greatte feare he beganne to adhorte and perswade his sonne to the contrary: layinge fyrst the greatte othe and promyse made to Annibal by all the whole citie: and also shewynge the daunger of the acte to be suche, that he coulde neuer escape alyue. I beynge thy Father (sayde he) haue wonne Annibal to be thy good lorde, and shall not I wynne my sonne to be frende to Annibal? And after that he hadde with longe prayer, weepynge, and great intercession ouercomme his sonne, and disswaded hym frome his enterprise: the yonge manne sayde these wordes: O countreye, receyue thou this swerde, with whyche I beynge armed, wolde haue defended this citie and castell, sparyng nothyng, nor fearynge myne owne deathe, but onely beinge ouercome with my fathers perswasyons. And whan he hadde so sayde, he caste his sworde into the playne ouer the gardeyne walle, and than bycause he shulde not be suspecte, he wente agayne to the feast.

¶ The next day the senate was holden, in the whiche Annibals fyrst oration was very gentyll, gyuyng thankes vnto the citezens, for that they preferred his amitie and frendshyp before the Romanes: and among other hygh promises, he promysed theym, that Capua shulde in shorte space be the heade of all Italye: And that the Romaynes, with other cities of

Ita-

Italy, ſhoulde ſeke vnto Capua for theyr ryghte and lawe: but he ſayde, that there was amonge them one named Magius Decius, who was noothynge agreable vnto the amytie betweene the Carthaginenſes and them of Capua: who (he ſayd) was no citezen, nor ought to be ſo called nor reputed. Wherfore he requyred, that he myghte be yelded vntohym, and that alſo in his preſence his cauſe myght be debated before theym of the counſaylle. To whyche requeſte euery manne graunted, althoughe ſomme thoughte he was a manne moche vnworthy to ſuſtayne ſuche myſerye, and that theyr lybertie beganne to mynyſhe not a lytell in the beginnynge. The ſenate was holden in the temple. Magius was commaunded to be taken, and brought to ſhewe his mattier, and he anone denyed it to be lawfull for theym, to breake the truce taken with the Romaynes. Wherefore he was commaunded to be bounde with chaynes, and ledde to the campe of the Carthaginenſes. In this leadynge thyther, as longe as his face was not couered, he wente cryinge to all theym, whyche were gathered togyther to ſee hym: Howe haue ye, meune of Capua, your lybertie, whiche you deſyred: In the markette place, and in the day lyghte, and in the preſence of you all, I beinge chiefe and moſte auncient of Capua, beinge bounde, am drawen to deathe. What coulde haue bene done more cruell and violente, yf Capua had be taken: whan he coulde not be ſtayed, but contynued crienge after this maner, bicauſe the commune people were thoughte to be moued with his wordes, his face and head was couered, and he was ledde quyckely out of the gates into the tentes of Annibal, and from thenſe in haſte ſente towarde Carthage by ſhyppe, leſte there ſhoulde be anye ſedytion moued for the ſame amonge the Cytezens: but in ſaylynge thyther, the ſhyppe was dryuen by tempeſte to Cyrenas, where Magius fledde to the pycture of Ptholomeus the kynge for his ſauegarde. Whereuppon he was broughte by the kepars of the towne to Alexandria, before Ptholomeus. And whan he hadde declared vnto the kynge, that Annibal hadde ſente hym bounde, contrarye vnto the league and bandes of the truce taken with the Cytezens of Capua: he was delyuered from his bandes, and hadde lybertie to goo whyther he wolde to Rome, or to Capua. To the whyche he made aunſwere,

that Capua was not a place very safe for hym: and he sayde, that Rome, whyles there was warre betweene the men of Capua and it, was rather an habitation of vacabundes than of frendes and olde guestes. Wherfore he sayd, he had not soo great desyre to lyue in any place, as in his kyngdom, by whom he was restored to his libertie.

¶ The newes that Mago brought to Carthage of Annibals victories in Italy, and the oration of Hanno a senatour of Carthage made vnto the same. Cap. xxvii.

Whyles these thynges were done in Italy, Mago the sonne of Amilcar, not sent from the army by his brother, but ocupied a certayn space, in receyuynge the cities of the Brusians, whiche yelded them selues willyngly to the Carthaginenses, brought tydinges to Carthage of the victory at Cannas. Whan the senatours were for him assembled, he declaryng the actes done by his brother in Italy, sayde: that he had foughten with six capitayns, of the whych iiii. were consuls, the fyfte Dictatour, that is chiefe rular in the common welthe of the citie, and the syxte mayster of the horsemen. He sayd also, that he had ouercome. vi. consulles hostes: so that there was slayne by hym. ii. C. M. and aboue fyfty. M. taken. and also he had slayn. ii. of the foure consuls, and the thyrde was sore wounded: and the fourth hauing lost all his hoste, fledde scacely with. l. men. And that the master of the horsemen was ouercome and put to flyght: so that the Dictator, whiche at no tyme durste come to batayle, remained only their head and capitayne. Furthermore, that diuers places in Italy were tourned to Annibal, as the Brucians, the Apulians, part of the Samnites, and the Lucanes. In so moche as Capua, whiche was not onely the head of Campania, but also of all Italy, euer sens the Romaynes were so ouerthrowen at Cannas, had yelded theym selues to Annibal. And for the more credence of these so ioyfull newes, he caused rynges of gold to be powred before the senatours, which of many men were reported to be to the quantitie of thre busshels, and a halfe: but moste authors wryte (and that semeth

to

to bemoſt agreable to veritie) that they were aboue the meſure of a buſſhell. And moreouer bycauſe it ſhuld be a token of a more notable ſlaughter, he ſayd: that no man dyd weare any of the ſayd iewels, but horſemen, and men of nobilitie. The ſumme of his oration was, that the greatter the hoope was of the whole vyctory, ſo moche rather Annibal ſhuld be ayded with great helpe and ſuccour, ſignifying to theym, that the warre was far from thens, in the myddel of their enmies lande: and that a great quantitie of grayne and moche money was ſpent. He ſayd alſo, that as the numbre of their enemies with ſo many battailes were ſlayne and diminyſhed, ſo their hoſte alſo was partly mynyſhed and ſlayne. Wherfore it was mete (he ſayde) to ſende money grayne and other neceſſaries to ſowldiours that ſo well had ſette furthe the name and honour of Carthage.

¶ For theſe tydinges of Mago, euery man being mery, Himilco, a man of the faction of the Barchins, thought to finde an occaſion to checke Hanno. What nowe Hanno (ſayth he) dothe it forthynke the of the begynnynge of the warre with the Romans? Commaunde Annibal to be delyuered nowe vnto them: or forbydde in this ſo fortunate tyme thankes to be giuen to the immortall goddis. Nowe lette vs here a ſenatour of Rome ſpeke in the ſenate houſe of Carthage. Whervnto Hanno anſwered.

¶ I was determined fathers conſcripte, at this time, in your ſo great and cõmon ioy, to haue holden my peace, and to haue ſpoken nothyng, whiche ſhulde haue bene diſpleaſant to you: but I can nowe no leſſe do, but anſwere the ſenatour that inquired of me, whether it forthinketh me of the warre enterpriſed agaynſt the Romanes, or no. Therfore myne anſwere ſhalbe this to Himilco, that I forthynke me yet of the warre taken, and ſhall ſtylle repent it, nor ſhall at any tyme ſeace to forthynke it, and blame our victorious capytayne, vntyl I ſee the warre taken vp and ended by ſome tollerable way and cõdition, nother ſhall any other thynge cauſe me to ſeaſſe frome the deſyre of the olde auncient peace, ſaue only a newe peace made. Theſe goodly newes, whiche Mago hathe blaſed abrode, are very ioyfull to Himilco and other Annibals frendes and ſeruantes: yea they may be alſo ioyfull to me, for our proſperitie in warre, yf we take our good fortune whan it cõ-

meth, shall cause vs to haue better and more profitable peace. But if we let passe this time, in the which we may be thought rather to graunt peace, than to craue it: I doubte, lest this ioye wyll deceyue vs, and come to nothynge. Nowe lette vs discusse this matter seriously, and ye shall perceyue what this greate ioye is. He sayth, the army of our ennemies is slayne: yet he commaundeth souldiours to be sent hym. What other thynge wolde a man desyre, yf he were ouercome. He sayth also, that the Campes and tentes of bothe hostes of our ennemyes are taken, with a ryche praye and spoyle: Yet he commaundeth, that we shall sende hym grayne and money. What other thynge coulde a manne desyre, yf he were robbed and dryuen frome his owne tentes? But nowe I haue aunswered Himilco to his demaundes, I wolde that other Himilco or Mago wold answere me vnto that I shall aske of them. If the fielde fought at Cannas was to the vtter subuertion of the Roman empyre, and deth of the hole host, and all Italy like yeld them, and forsake the Romans: Fyrst whether any of the people of Rome come fleinge to vs, and forsake the Romans: Moreouer, whether any of the .xxxv. tribes haue fledde, and come to Annibal? Which both thinges whan Mago had denied to be done: It must than folow (sayd he) that we haue many ennies yet left at Rome. But I wold faine knowe, what courage and hope that multitude of our ennemies hath: Whan Mago had sayd, he could not tel. There is nothyng more easy (sayde Hanno) to be knowen. Dydde the Romaynes sende any legates to Annibal for peace? or whether hadde ye any knowledge, that the Romayns made any mention of peace at Rome? Whanne he also hadde denyed that: Than haue we (sayde he) as greatte warre euen nowe in hande, as we hadde the fyrste daye that Annibal entred into Italye. There be many of vs alyue, that doo remembre yet, howe varyable the victorye was in the fyrste warres that were betwyxt Carthage and Rome. Our warres and busynes (bothe by sea and lande) were thought neuer to be more prosperous, thanne before Caius Luctatius, and Appius Posthumius were Consuls: But yet in theyr tyme we were ouercomme at the Iles of Egates. Lykewyse nowe, yf Fortune do tourne (as she is always varyable) whiche I praye vnto the Goddis maye not happen: Wolde ye than

than hope to haue peace, whan we are ouercome, the whiche nowe we can not gette, although we vanquyſſhe and ouercome the Romaynes? If any mention of peace were made, eyther to be gyuen to oure ennemyes, or elles to be taken of theym: I coulde telle thanne ryght well what to ſaye. But in caſe ye wylle onely commen of the demaundes of Mago, I thynke, yf our people haue ſoo vanquyſſhed our ennemyes as hathe bene declared, it is not nedefulle to ſende theym that whyche Mago deſyreth. And yf they wolde mocke vs with theyr vayne reporte of vyctorye, whanne none ſuche is hadde in dede: I thynke than they oughte leſſe to be ſuccoured at our handes.

¶ With this oration of Hanno very fewe were moued to be of his opynion. For the enuye and hatrede, that they bare vnto hym, and alſoo the greatte kynrede of the other, cauſed hym to be the worſe heard. Agayne, they were ſoo reioyſed with the ſodayne and preſente ioye, that they wold heare noothynge, that ſhoulde hynder the ſame: Suppoſynge the warres ſhoulde ſoone be fynyſſhed, yf they dydde ſende any helpe nowe at this tyme into Italye. Wherefore by the hole conſente of the Senate it was concluded, to ſende to Annibball forty thouſande Numydians, to his ſuccours, and fortye elephantes, and a greatte ſumme of money. And the Dictatoure of Carthage was ſente into Spayne, with Mago, to hyre twenty thouſande footemen, and foure thouſande horſmenne, whyche ſhulde fournyſhe agayne the armyes both in Spayne, and alſo in Italy. But theſe thinges were forſlowed and done by leyſure (as commonly it happeth in proſperitie.

But beſyde the naturall induſtry of the Romaynes, Fortune alſo wrought moche for them: for they hapned that yere vpon a Conſull, that ſought all meanes poſſible, to further all ſuche thynges as ſhulde be thought neceſſary to be brought to paſſe by hym. And Marcus Junius, beyng Dictatour, beſydes the Legyons, whyche were appoynted before, and the bondemenne of the Cytie, with other ſuccours ſuche as he coulde gather togyther of dyuerſe countreyes adioynynge, to fournyſſhe the armye: He lepte than beſydes his horſe, ſayinge: All ſuche as haue commytted any maner of cryme worthye of deathe, and they that are condempned to pryſon for money, yf they wolde be ſowldyours with hym,

and

and go to the warre, he wold pay theyr dettes, and lose them from theyr bandes and punyshement. Thus hadde he of that sort. vi. M. souldyours, whom he armed with the armor that C. Flamminius toke from the Frenchemen, and than he went out of the citie with. xxv. M. harneyst men.

¶ Of the battayle betwene Marcellus and Annibal before the citie of Nola, and of Annibals wynteryng in Capua, the delycate pleasures, wherby he withdrewe the hartes and courages of his men from all warrelyke fascion. Cap. xxviii.

After Annibal had taken Capua, he assayed many and dyuers ways to haue gotten Naples, whiche whan he coulde not bryng to passe, he went from thens to the fieldes of the Nolans, assayeng by many ways to wyn the towne of Nola. The senate, and namely the chiefe, stacke surely to their olde frendes the Romaynes: The cõmunes being (as they are wont) desyrous of newes, inclyned all to Annibal. Wherfore the senate, fearyng to stryue with the commons openly (agaynste whose power, yf nede requyred, they were not able to resyst) pryuyly dissemblyng, founde meanes to prolong the time, sayeing, they were cõtent to be yelded to Annibal, but they knew not after what maner and condition they shuld yelde. During whiche tyme of delay, they sent ambassadours to Marcellus the pretor of Rome, being than at Cannusium, shewyng hym the circumstance of the matter: wylling him to come to them yf he intended that they shuld kepe the towne. Who perceiuyng theyr stedfastnes, greately praysed the senate of Nola, desyrynge them to persеuere in theyr purpose: and vse suche subtiltie in prolonging of tyme, as they before had done, vntill his commyng to them, whych shuld be shortly: In the meane season, he willed them, not to be aknowen of any succour that was commynge. Than streyght he made hym redy, and with his army toke the way to Calacia, and ouer the riuer of Vulturnus, and so to Nola.

¶ Annibal before the Pretors comming, went from Nola to Naples, very desyrous to wynne some towne that laye on the

sea

ſea coſtes, to whyche the ſhyppes myght haue free and ſafe paſſage from Affrica. But whan he vnderſtode Naples was defended by a Romane capytayne (the Neapolitans had gotten thyther M. Junius Syllanus) and ſhulde as well be kept out there as he was at Nola: he went and layde ſiege to Nuceria, whyche at laſt, vſynge many wayes, he cauſed them by famyne to yelde. Marcellus was by that tyme in the towne of Nola, and was no ſurer of his owne ſouldyours thanne he was of the pryncis of Nola: but he feared the commons, and aboue all other he dradde a yonge man, very hardye, and of a noble lygnage, whoſe name was Lucius Bantius, who was moche deſyrous to yelde the towne to Anniball. for beynge founde amonge a heape of dead bodies and ſoore wounded in the battayle at Cannas, Anniball cauſed hym to be healed, and ſent home with large gyftes: for which gentyll dede, he wold fayne that Nola ſhuld be yelded to Anniball. Marcellus perceyued this Bantius to be troubled in his mynde with ſuche ſtudy, ſo that he muſt eyther with punyſhement be refrained, orels by benefit reconciled: he ſent for hym, and ſo beninglye with wordes, promyſes, and gyftes entertayned hym, that there was none in the citie ſo ſure after to the Romans as he. ¶ Whan Anniball was come from Nuceria (which he of late had taken) before the gates of Nola, Marcellus was entred the citie, not fearyng to kepe his campe abrode: but leſt his taryinge without ſhulde be an occaſyon of betrayinge and yeldyng vp the citie. Than beganne ſmall ſkyrmyſhyng betwene the citie and the Carthaginenſes: at whiche time the pryncis of Nola ſhewed Marcellus, that the common people hadde ſecrete metynges and communication in the nyghte, with the Carthaginenſes: in the whiche it was purpoſed, that whanne the Romans were gone out to fyght, they wolde take theyr ſtuffe and cariage, and ſhutte the gates: and ſo whan they had gotten bothe theyr ſtuffe and goodes, they wold receyue the Carthaginenſes into the town in ſtede of the Romans. Whā they had ſhewed theſe conſpiracies to Marcellus, he praiſed theyr fidelitie greatly, and thought to aſſaye what he myght do by battayle, before any ſuche trouble ſhoulde be within the citie. Firſt he ordered his hoſte being diuided in thre partes, at the .iii. gates, whyche opened agaynſte his ennemyes. He commaunded the ſtuffe and baggage to folowe a prety ſpace

after. And at the middel gate he set the strēgth of the Roman legions, the newe souldiours and other that cam to their succours, he sette at the two other gates, straightly commaundyng, that the Nolans in no wyse shulde come on the walles, nor nere the gates. He sent also certayn souldiours to awaite on the cariage and stuffe, lest whan they were busy in battaile, the Nolanes myghte spoyle and take it. Whan all thynges were thus put in good order, they stode styll within the walles, without makyng any shewe.

¶ Annibal standing in aray in the fieldes a longe space, as he was wont, meruailed that he sawe nother the hooste come to the fieldes, nor no man armed on the walles: Than he supposed, that theyr counsayle was knowen, and that for feare the cōmons of the towne were constrayned to forsake their promyse. Wherfore he sent part of the souldiours to the tentes to fetche ordynaunce and all thynges necessary to assault the walles, thynkyng that if he went on them, whiles they abode in this stay, that the common people of the citie wolde make some rumour on the walles. Incontynent whyles euery man, as the cōmandement was, ranne to his busines, touchinge the assault, and the host wente to the walles: the gates were sodeinly opened. Marcellus cōmanded to spreade the baners, and the trumpettes to blowe, and the footemen fyrst, and after the horsemen to runne on theyr ennemies. Some authors saye, that there were slayne at that skirmysshe. ii. M. iii. C. Carthaginenses, & but one man of the Romans: whether the victory were so great, or whether it were lesse, the acte was great, and the conducte noble. Annibal hauynge no hope of opteynyng the towne, went than to Acerras, and Marcellus streyght caused the gates of Nola to be shutte, lest any manne shulde passe furthe: and made anon strayght and dilygent examination, who they were, that wolde haue betrayed the towne. He beheaded. lxxx. of them, and caused their goodes to be dystributed amonge the commons. And after he had committed the charge of kepyng of the towne to the senate, he remoued with his hole host beyonde Suessala.

¶ Annibal, after he hadde wonne Acerras, came to Casilinum, where they so valyantlye defended theym selfes, that Annibal, beinge halfe ashamed, left the siege, and wente to wynter at Capua. And there he kepte his hooste in houses

for

for the moſt part of the wynter, who of long tyme before had endured agaynſt all kyndes of peynes and trauayle, hauynge ſmalle knowlege of pleaſure or eaſe. And they that could not before be ouercome with any kynde of miſery or peyne, were than loſte with vnmeaſurable pleaſures: wherein they were wholly drowned, ſo gredy they were therof, after their accuſtomed peynes. Thus toke they al their delite in ſlepe and wyne, in banketтes, hauntynge of harlottes and bathes, with dayly reſte and ydelnes, whiche delycate faſhion withdrewe bothe their courage, and alſo their ſtrength from their bodies and myndes: ſo that afterwarde their ioye comfort and ſtrength was more by remembrance of the victories, whiche they had opteyned before, than in their preſent ſtrength: In ſo moche that to lette his ſouldiours thus folow their luſtes, was thought amonge expert warriours a greater hynderance vnto hym, than that he did not lead his hoſt to Rome ſtreight after the battayle of Cannas. For that tarienge and doubting was thought but only a prolongyng of the victorye, but this faute made theym vnable afterwarde to ouercome. Soo that whan he remoued from Capua after the winter, it ſemed that he ledde furthe a ſtraunge army, other than he brought thyther, they obſerued none of their accuſtomed ſort of warre, ſomme retourned to their harlottes: many other, as ſoone as they beganne to feele peyne, trauayle, and hardeneſſe of warre, and that they were fayne to be couered with ſkynnes, they were ſo werye, and the warre ſemed to them ſo tedioufe, that they wanted bothe their ſtrength of bodye, and hardyneſſe of mynde, whyche they hadde before. A greatte parte of the hoſte without their wages, ſtole from their capytaynes, nother hadde they any other denne or receptable but Capua.

¶ Of the longe ſiege and wynnynge of Caſſilinum, with the deathe and diſtruction of the conſull Poſthumius and his hoſt in the woode of Lytana by the craft of the Frenchemen. Cap. xxix.

VWhan it drewe towarde the ſommer, Anniball remoued agayne to Caſſilinum, where without aſſaute gyuynge but only by contynuall ſiege kepynge, he broughte the

inhabitantes therof almoste to extreme pouertie and famyne. The dictatour in this season was gone to Rome, to serche by diuinations the fortune that shulde happen. Titus Sempronius was left as ruler of the army. Marcellus being at Nola wolde haue succoured them of Casilinum, saue that the citezens of Nola wolde in no case suffer hym to go from theym, fearynge leste after his departure, the inhabitantes of Capua wolde haue inuaded theym. The ryuer also of Vulturnus was rysen so hygh, that he coulde not well passe ouer, but in great ieopardy. Gracchus was lefte with a certayne men of warre, to lye about Casilinum, who moued not, nor brought them any succour, bycause he hadde in commandement of the dictatour, that he shulde moue no battayle in his absence: yet hearde he suche newes from Casilinum, whyche wolde haue moued a man to haue broken his commandement. For it was shewed hym, that some being not able to susteyne the greatte hungre and famine, without aduysement, distroid them selfes: And some desyryng the death, wold stand on the walles without armour, to the intent they myght be slayn with the shotte of theyr ennemies. Gracchus seyng that he durste not helpe theym by battayle, bycause of the contrary cõmaundement of his dictatour, And there was no remedy to brynge them sustynance, for that in no case coulde be done without battayle. Than he gathered in the ñeldes as many kyndes of corne as he could, and therwith fylled a great numbre of vessels or batelles, and sent a messanger to the rulars of the citie, certifying them, that he wolde the next nyght sende the vessels with grayne downe the water, warning them to be redy to receiue theym at the cõmyng of the tyde. The nyght folowyng, euery man went to the ryuer to tary the cõmyng of the grayn, accordyng to the promyse of Gracchus, at the laste they myght see the tounnes come swymmynge downe the myddell of the streame, whiche they receyued gladly and diuyded it equally among them. Thus they continued by the space of. iii. or. iiii. nyghtes, so longe they disceyued the watchemen of theyr ennemies: but at the laste the water arose moche hygher than it was wont, by the reason of a continuall rayne that fell, so that the streame was more swyft than it was wont to be, whereby the vessels were dryuen to lande on that part where the host of Annibal lay, and many were founde styckyng amonge the

wyllowes

wyllowes, that grew on the bankes of the ryuer, which was ſhewed vnto Annibal, who afterwarde, with greatter dilygence, watched the ryuer of Vulturnus, leſt he ſhuld by ſuche meanes be eftſones deceyued. Yet was there ſuche lyke deuyſe made by ſendyng of nuttes downe the ſtreame, in barels tyll it was alſo eſpyed. At lengthe they were brought to ſuche pouertie, that they were conſtrayned to take ſkynnes, ſtrynges, and the couerynges of ſhieldes, whiche they made ſofte in warme water, and ſo eate them: nother refrayned they to eate myſe and ſuche kynde of vermyn, and all kynde of herbes and rootes, whiche grewe without in the fielde adioyning to the walles. Thus alſo perceyued Annibal: wherfore he cauſed the grounde to be plowed vp, where all ſuche herbes and rootes dyd growe to his ennemies ſuccour without the wall. In whiche newe plowed groundes the men of the towne ſowed paſnepſede, wherat Annibal cried, Shall I tary at Caſſilinum whyle theſe ſedes be growen vp able for theyr foode and ſuſtynance? Whervpon where before he wolde here of no cõmunication of truce, he than was contented to couenant with them for theyr redemption. The price of their redemption was. vii. ounces of golde for euery of theym. Whan the couenantes were made, they yelded them ſelues. And they were kepte in pryſon, vntylle all the money was payde. And after ſent with good leaue to Cumas. There came from Preneſte to the garyſon of Caſſilinũ. v. C. and ſeuenty ſouldiors, of whiche the moſte part were ſlayne and famyſhed, the reſidue went to Preneſte with their capitayne Manicius: Caſſilinum was giuen to the citezens of Capua, and kept with. vii. C. of Annballes ſouldiours, leſte whan they were departed from thens, the Romans ſhulde take it agayn. The ſenate of Rome appoynted double ſtypende to the ſouldiours of Preneſte, and alſo gaue them fiue yeres licence, to be abſent from the warres, for theyr great fidelitie. Than were the Romans buſy in choſyng newe ſouldiours, to ſupply theyr places that were ſlayne in the batayle before. Lucius Poſthumius, and Titus Sempronius were choſen conſulles. The dictatour, whan the offycers were choſen, went to Theanũ, where the army wyntred: he left the maiſter of the horſemen at Rome: who anone after he had receyued the office, counſayled with the fathers, about choſing and ordeyning of their armies for

that yere. And whan they were mooste diligent aboute theyr busines, tydynges was brought to the citie of a newe slaughter and losse, that was than happed vnto theym, oone euylle chaunce that yere commynge after an other. The truth was, that Lucius Posthumius and his armye was dystroyed in France by this meane. There was a great wyde woode, called by the Frenchemen Litana, through which he shuld leade his hoste, of the whiche woode the Frenchmen had so cutte all the trees on bothe sydes the waye, yf they were not moued, they wolde stande stylle: but beinge any thynge moued, they wolde anon fall. Posthumius had in his hoste fyue and twenty thousande men. The Frenchemen hadde bestowed their companye rounde aboute the compasse of the woode, and whan the armye of the Romaynes was welle entred the woode, they cast downe the farthest part of the trees, growynge in the borders of the woode, which whan they were moued fell one vpon an other through the woode, hauyng no stay, throwyng downe and sleing the Romans as they passed, bothe men and horses, so that scarsely tenne men escaped, the moste part were almoste paste breathe and deade of the hurtes of the trees fallynge on them, the residue, that escaped, wolde haue fledde, beinge amased with the sodeyne chaunce, were slayne by the Frenchemen, who beinge armed, beset the woode rounde about. There were a few taken, which sought to goo ouer a brydge, whiche the Frenchemen kepte, but anone they were compassed and beset about with the Frenchemen. There the consull Posthumius, who in no wyse wolde be taken of his ennemyes, manfully and nobly dyed. They brought the ornamentes of his bodye, and his heade, beinge cut from the body, to the chiefe temple in that countrey, with syngyng and mochе myrthe. They pourged and clensed the skull within and without, and couered the brayne panne ouer with golde, vsynge it to drynke therin, whan they dyd sacrifice at any solemne feast: and also it serued the priestes and bishoppes of the temple, as a cuppe at the sacrifice. The praye was no lesse to the Frenchemen thanne the victorye, for although the most parte of the cattall was slayne, with the fallyng of the trees, yet they lost nothyng of the substance that they had about them.

¶ Whan this slaughter was knowen at Rome, the citezens were

were in ſuche ſorowe and trouble for a great ſpace, that they ſhutte their wyndowes and ſhoppes, as though it had ben in the nyght: but within ſhort ſpace the ſenatours charged the officers, to go about the citie, and cauſe the ſhoppes and doores to be opened, & to cauſe the citezens to leaue their ſorow. ¶Than Titus Sempronius called a ſenate or courte, in the which he exhorted and counſailed the fathers conſcript, that they, whoſe hartes were not ouercome for the great diſtruction and loſſe of the battayle at Cannas, ſhulde not nowe ſuffer them ſelues to be vanquyſhed with this moche leſſe ſorow and calamitie: admonyſhynge theym, that as concernynge the Carthaginenſes and Annball, all was (as he truſted it ſhuld be) very well. And as for the warres with the Frenchmen it myght be deferred for a ſeaſon: for at all tymes the reuengynge of theyr harmes was in the power of the goddis and the Romayns. Furthermore he ſhewed theym, that they ought chiefly to counſayle and worke agaynſt Annibball circũſpectly, preparyng with what numbre of men he might be reſiſted, and he fyrſte reaſoned what numbre of footemen and horſemen, of citezens and other theyr frendes of Italy, were in the hoſt of the dictatour. Than Marcellus declared what nũbre was in his army, that he had charge of: And thus after they had ymagyned and decreed, what numbre ſhulde ſatiſfye the two Conſuls hoſtes, they agreed, that the warre agaynſt the Frenchemenne ſhoulde be omytted vntyll an other tyme.

¶Of the victory of the Scipions in Spayne. Cap. xxx.

Whyles theſe thinges were done and prepared in Italy, the Romayne capytaynes in Spayne were not ydell, but as than had the vpperhande of their ennemies. P. Scipio and L. Scipio his brother parted their army betwixt theym, ſo that Cneius ſhoulde haue the lande, and Publius the ſea, There was great warre in Spayn betwene the Scipions and Haſdruball: but whan it was knowen in Spayne, that Haſdruball ſhuld go with his hoſt into Italy: a great numbre of them turned theyr hartes to the Romans. Wherfore Haſdrubal ſente letters to Carthage, certifieng the Senate, howe dangerous his

his departyng out of Spayne shuld be: And how that before he were passed the ryuer of Iberus, the more part of Spain wold tourne to the Romans. Whiche letters although at the fyrst they moued the senate moche, not withstandyng bycause theyr hole myndes were gruen toward the charge & busines of the affaires of Italy, they chãged not their purpose, conferryng the sendyng of Hasdruball into Italye: but in his place they sent Himilco with an hoste fournysshed to kepe the seas and the lande, and also the countrey of Spayne: who whan he had all thynge necessary prouyded for hym, with as great spede as myght be, passed the countrey of Spayne, vntyll he came to Hasdruball. And as soone as he had shewed hym the commaundement of the senate, and that Hasdruball had likewyse informed hym, howe he shulde demeane hym selfe in the warres of Spayne: he retourned agayne to his tentes with spede. But Hasdrubal, er euer he remoued his campe, caused taxes of money to be raysed of all cuntreys that were vnder his obeysance: knowyng well, that Anniball had bought certayne passages of the Frenchemen, and that withoute theyr helpe, the entre into the Alpes or hyghe mountaynes, was harde to be optained. Whan he had gathered greate summes of money, he went downe with spede to the riuer of Iberus. ¶ And whan the purpose of the Carthaginenses, and Hasdrubals iourney was knowen and shewed to the Scipions, they settyng all other busynes aparte, with bothe theyr hostes togyther, set forwarde to mete hym, and prepared to lette his enterpryse: supposynge, that yf Hasdruball, being a capitayn and that great newe hoste of the Carthaginenses, were ioyned to Anniball (whom alone Italy was scarsely able to withstande) that than the empyre of Rome shoulde soone be at an ende. Thus they beinge troubled with care of this busynes, brought theyr hooste to Iberus. And whan they had passed the ryuer, consultynge longe, whether they shoulde pytche theyr campe neere to theyr ennemies, or elles ouerrunne and subdue some of the Carthaginenses frendes, therby to staye and prolonge theyr ennemies purposed iourney. At last they determyned to besiege the citie, called Ibera (of the water, whiche was nere it) the rycheſt of the countrey at that tyme. Whiche thyng whan Hasdruball knewe, in stede of bryngyng succour to his frendes, he wente to besiege a Citie, that was lately

lately yelded to the Romans: ſo than the Romans left their ſiege, and turned the battayle wholly to Haſdruball. There was betwixt the two hoſtes, for the ſpace of certayn dayes, the ſpace of fyue myles, duryng whiche tyme they were not without ſmall ſkyrmyſhyng. At length, as it were pretended of bothe partes, at one tyme bothe the hole hoſtes diſcended into the playne, redy to gyue battaile. The Roman hoſt was diuided into thre partes, part of the footemen were ſette before the ſtanderdes, and part behynd the horſemen, kept the ſydes or wynges. On the other part Haſdruball ſette in the myddell battayle the Spaniardes, and in the right wyng the Carthaginenſes, and in the left winge the Affricans, with the hyred ſtraunge ſowldiours: And he put the Numidians to the footemen of Carthage, the reſidue of the Affricanes he ſette before the wynges: nother dyd he ſette all the Numydians in the ryght wyng, but thoſe, whoſe qualities were ſuche in lyghtnes and nymblenes, that rydyng vpon one horſe, and leadyng a ſpare horſe in theyr handes, whan the one was wery, they wold among the thickeſt of their enemyes leape armed on the other freſhe horſe, theyr agilitie and quycknes was ſo great, and the horſes of kind ſo gentil and wel taught. Thus ſtode they in aray, and litel difference there was, other in the numbre or kyndes of ſouldiours of eyther hoſte. Not withſtandyng the ſouldiours hartes were not like. The Romane capitayns, although they fought farre from home, yet myght they eaſyly perſuade their ſouldiours, that they ſhuld fyght for theyr cuntrey, and for the citie of Rome. Wherfore by that doubtfull battaile they purpoſed, other to ouercome, or to dye, truſting therby to haue ſhort returne home to their cuntrey. The other hooſte hadde not ſo ſterne valiaunt and hardy men. for the more parte of theym were Spanyardes, whiche had rather be ouercome in Spayne, than wynnynge the victory, be conducted into Italy. Therfore at the fyrſte metynge, whan the dartes were ſcarſly throwen, the middell warde fledde, and gaue place to the Romanes: who came vpon them with great violence, not withſtanding the battailes were nothynge leſſe in the wynges, for on the one ſyde the Carthaginenſes, and on the other ſyde the Affricans came on them boldly, and fought egerly. but whan the Romane hoſte had gotten in to the myddell togyther, they were ſtronge ynough

nough to put away the wynges of theyr ennemies. Wherefore being in numbre and strength best, they shortly put the other to the worse. There was a great numbre of men slayne, and vnlesse the Spaniardes had fledde away, so thicke before the battayle was begunne, there hadde scarsely any of theym remayned vnslayne. There was no bataile betwene the horsemen. for as soone as the Mauritaynes and Numidians sawe the myddell warde ouercome and putte to fyghte, they dryuynge the elephantes before theym, sodaynly departed and fledde: leauynge bothe the wynges bare. Hasdruball remaynyng tyll the last ende of the battaile, fledde with a fewe with hym. That battayle caused the hartes of the Spanyardes, whiche doubted before in the frendshyp of the Romanes, to be wholly gyuen to them. And it dyd not only take the hope from Hasdrubal of leading his hoste into Italy: but also that there was scarse tarieng for hym in Spayne. Which thinges after they were certified to the senate at Rome by the Scipions letters, they were not so gladde of the victory, as that Hasdrubal and his host were prohibited the entre into Italy.

¶ The oration of the Samnites and the Hirpines to Annibal, desyrynge his helpe against the Romaines, with the order of Marcellus and Anniball about Nola. Cap. xxxi.

Vhyles these thynges were done in Spayn, the Romanes ordered theyr busines wysely in Italy. Titus Sempronius and Quintus Fabius Maximus were chosen consuls. Marcellus than laye at Nola, and he made dyuers out runnynges with his armye into the fieldes of the Hirpines and Samnites, and so dystroyed all with the swerde and fyre, that he renued the memorye of the olde distruction of Samnium: and than strayght wayes bothe the nations sente theyr messangers to Annibal at ones, who spake to hym after this maner.

¶ We were (O Annibal) ennemies to the Romayns of our selues, as longe as our weapons, our harneys, and strengthe were able to maynteyne vs. Afterwarde whan we had smalle hope and truste in theym, we fell into amitie with Pyrrhus,

of

of whome we were forſaken, beinge not able to defende vs, we toke truce and peace neceſſary, for that we were vnable to withſtande the Romaynes. And we haue endured in the ſame peace the ſpace of fyfty yeres, vnto thy commyng into Italy. Sens whyche tyme thy onely gentylnes towarde our cytezens (whiche beynge taken, thou ſendeſt to vs agayne) as well as thy vertue and fortune, ſo hathe wonne vs vnto the, that yf thou our frende be ſafe and in good helth, we not only wolde not feare the Romans, but alſo yf it were laufull to be ſpoken, we wold not feare the goddis. But verily not only thou being ſafe and ſounde, but alſo preſent where as thou mayſt alſo beholde our houſes burnynge, and here the waylyng of our wyues and chyldren, we are ſo ſpoyled, and our goodes waſted and dyſtroyed, that it may be thoughte, that Marcus Marcellus hath ouercome at Cannas, and not Anniball: and alſo the Romaynes may reioyce, that thou onely as it were at one battayle, art ſtronge and valyant, and at the next wethered and faynt. we kepte warre with the Romaynes the ſpace of one hundred yeres, beyng ſuccoured by no man, ſauyng that Pyrrhus the ſpace of.ii. yeres, did increaſe his ſtrengthe and power with our men, rather than defende vs by his power. We wylle not reioyſe of our proſperitie, whan we ſubdued.ii. Conſulles with theyr hoſtes at one time and brought them into our ſubiection: but omyttyng all ſuche proſperous chaunces that we had, we myghte ſhewe thoſe thynges that happed infortunately to vs at that tyme, yf there were any with leſſe ſhame than we maye nowe declare thoſe that be chaunced to vs. There dydde inuade the coſtes of our countreys at that tyme. ii. noble dictatours, the mayſters of horſemen, and two Conſulles, with two conſulles hooſtes, hauynge all thynge prouyded for theym neceſſarely, or they wolde aduenture to robbe and dyſtroy our countrey. But nowe we be almoſte a praye to one lyttell hoſte, beynge lefte for the ſuccours of Nola. Nowe they beynge but a ſmalle noumbre, after the maner of robbers, ouercome our countreye with leſſe feare, thanne yf they were in the Romayne fieldes. The cauſe is, that nother thou doeſte defende vs, and alſo that all our luſtye yonge and valyaunt menne, whiche without doubt, yf they were at home, wolde

defende vs, are with the, and vnder thy baner: neyther had we knowen the, nor thyne hoste, hadde not it happed, that through thy myght there were soo many Romans slayne and put to flyght, to whome we may suppose it but a lyght thyng to suppresse our robbers, rouyng abrode in the fieldes without order, runnyng whyther as foolysshe and vayne hope of a pray dothe leade theym, whome a fewe of thy Numidians wolde vtterly confounde. And I doubte not, but thou wylte sende vs some sure helpe and succour, excepte thou iudge vs vnworthy to be defended and holpen, whan heretofore thou thoughtest vs not vnworthy to be taken as thy frendes and companyons, receyuyng vs into thy amitie and frendshyppe.

¶ To this theyr lamentable oration Anniball answered, that the Hirpines and Samnites dyd shewe their ruine and losse, requyryng helpe therein, and also dyd complayne, that they were lefte withoute succour and vnholpen, and all at ones: where as they shulde fyrst haue shewed theyr cause, askynge succour in theyr myschiefe, and afterwarde, yf they coulde not haue healpe, than to complayne, that theyr suite was in vayne. Neuer the lesse he promised them succours and helpe, not that his army shuld come into any of theyr groundes, but that he wolde inuade theyr neyghbours, whiche were frendes to the Romaines: wherby he shulde drawe the Romans from vexyng of them, makyng them gladde to defende theyr frendes. And as concernyng the warre betwene him and the Romaynes, yf the battayle at Trasimenus were nobler than that of Trebia, and the battayle at Cannas more noble than that of Trasimenus: he wolde make the fame and memorye of the victory at Cannas, but obscure and nothyng to be esteemed, in comparison of a more noble and triumphant victorye, that he trusted to haue of them. With this answere and great rewardes he sent them home: and leauyng a lyttell company at Tisatis, he toke his iourney to Nola. At the same tyme Hanno came to hym from the Brusians, with stuffe sent from Carthage, and with elephantes.

¶ Whan Anniball had pytched his tentes, not farre frome Nola, he founde all thynges otherwyse than it was shewed hym by the legates of the Samnites. for Marcellus so ruled hym selfe euer and all his men, that he cõmitted nothinge to fortune, nother left any thyng rasshely in daunger of his ene-

ennemyes: for whan he went about any ſpoyle of the countrey, or to gette any pray, he dyd it as prouidently, as though he ſhuld haue done it, Anniball beinge preſent. And whan he perceiued Anniball to become: he kept his hoſte within the citie. Wherupon Hanno approched nygh vnto the wall, callynge furthe Herennius Baſſus and Herius Petreius, who by the lycence of Marcellus went furthe to talke with hym. Than vnto them by an interpretour he beganne to extoll the vertue and fortune of Anniball, and diſpiſed the nobilitie of the Romans, which (he ſayd) decayed togyther with theyr power and ſtrength: whyche nobilitie and power yf it were lyke as it was in olde tyme, not withſtandyng knowynge the harde and cruell empire and gouernance of the Romans, and the great gentylnes of Anniball towardes all the captiues of Italy, the frendſhip and amitie of the Carthaginēſes was to be preferred before the amitie of the Romans. And yf both the Conſuls with theyr hooſtes were at Nola, they were no more to be cōpared to Anniball, than they were at the battell of Cannas: moche leſſe one pretor with a fewe new & vnſkilled ſouldiours, was able to defende Nola. And that they rather than Anniball, oughte to care, after what maner Nola ſhuld come to Anniballes poſſeſſion: other taken by violēce, or yelded. for there was no remedy but haue it he wold, as he had Capua and Nuceria. He ſayd further, that he wolde not diuine, what ſhuld happen to the citie being taken, but durſte rather promyſe and vndertake, that if they wold yelde Marcellus and the citie to Anniball, that no man, but they theymſelues, ſhulde preſcribe the bandes and lawes of the frendeſhyp that ſhulde be betwene them.

¶ Wherynto Herennius Baſſus aunſwered: that the amitie betwene the Romanes and the Nolanes had continued many yeres, of the whiche nother of them dyd forthynke. He ſaid furthermore, that if they ſhuld haue changed or broken their faithes, whan theyr fortune fayled or chaunged, that nowe it were to late to chaunge: for that other chaunged a long time agone: And that it had ben foly for them to haue ſought ſuccour of the Romaynes if they had bene mynded to haue yelded the towne to Anniball. Wherfore theyr myndes were, that with thoſe, whiche came to theyr ſuccours, they were in all thynges ioyned and ſurely knitte togither, and to the deth

shulde be. Whiche answere toke from Anniball the hope of optaynynge the citie without battayle: Wherfore he besette the citie rounde about, intendynge to gyue assaulte therynto on all partes.

¶ So soone as Marcellus sawe that hys ennemies approched the walles, he ordered his hooste wysely within the walles, and than soderynly issued out to batayle, makyng great noyse. Some at the fyrste encountrynge were dryuen backe and slayne: but whan the armies ioyned togyther, the battayle beganne to be very fierse on bothe partes: And no faile it had ben a soore fyght, had not a huge tempest and raine departed theym: wherby hauynge bothe egre myndes, the one was dryuen into the towne, and the other to his campe or tentes, and lyttell hurt done, where (beynge bothe desyrous of battayle) they abode all the next daye, so great was the violence of the storme. The thyrde day Annibball sent parte of his souldiours, to robbe and spoyle the fieldes: which whan Marcellus knewe, he streight ways brought his hoste furth to the battayle, and Annibball on the other syde was nothinge behynde. There was almoste a myle betwene the towne and the campe, where the two hostes mette togyther. The crye that was raysed on bothe partes caused the companye to returne to battayle, which were before sent a spoyling, and the Nolans with their power were ready to increase the Romanes hoste: whome Marcellus (greatly praysynge for theyr good wylles and courage) commaunded to stande in aray redy to theyr succour, and to conuey them, which were wounded, out of the battayle. And that they shoulde in no wyse fyghte, vntylle he commaunded theym. The battayle was stronge, the sowldiours fought with all theyr myghtes, and lykewyse the Capytaynes prouoked theym to the same. Marcellus badde them boldely withstande those that were ouercomme not thre dayes before, and that not longe agone fledde from Cuma as vacabundes, and the yere before were dryuen from Nola, he beynge capytayne. And to comforte theym the more, he sayde, that all theyr enemyes were not in battayle: some were a rouynge in the fieldes, and those that fought in battayle, were wethered with the pleasure of Capua, with wyne and hauntynge of harlottes. And that the

strength

ſtrengthes, courage, and myghte of theyr bodyes and hartes, by the whyche they paſſed the greatte mountaynes called Alpes, and the hylles of Pyrenes, was cleane goone. He ſayde alſoo, that thoſe were the leauynges of the foreſayde ſowldyoures, ſcarſe able to beare and ſuſteyne theyr owne membres and harneys, ſhewynge, that Capua was as hurtfull and diſpleaſaunt vnto Annibball and his menne, as Cannas was to the Romaones. for there (ſayde he) they haue lefte all theyr ſtrengthe, vertue, and good feates of warre, yea and haue lefte there not onely all theyr glorye and fame of the tyme paſt, but alſo hoope of victorye in tyme to come.

¶ The exhortation of Annibball to his ſowldioures, the batayle betweene hym and Marcellus, and the victories of the Scipions in Spayne. Capitulo. xxxii.

And whan Marcellus with ſuche wordes to his ennemies reproche had incouraged his ſowldioures, Annibball lykewyſe with no leſſe rebuke and blame to the Romanes called on his men, ſayinge, that he knewe theym to haue the ſame armour and ſtanderdes, whyche they hadde at Trebia, Traſymenus, and at Cannas: what meaneth it nowe (ſaythe he) that ye ſcarſely are able to withſtande one legate Romayne, and the battayle of one legyon or wynge: where two Conſulles hooſtes were neuer able to withſtande you? Shall Marcellus with his newe and vntaught ſouldyours, and the ſuccours of Nola yet agayne prouoke vs, and we not reuenged vpon them? where are my ſouldyours that drewe Flamminius from his horſe, and ſtrake of his heade? Where is he that ſlewe Lucius Paulus at Cannas? are your ſwerdes blunte? or are youre ryghte handes aſtonyed and wearye? What a monſtrouſe thynge is this? that you, the whyche were wonte, whanne that ye were but a veryre fewe in noumbre, in ſhorte ſpace

to

to ouercome a great meyny, nowe you beinge many, ſuffer a fewe to ſtycke in your handes: you boſted as bolde men with your tongues, that you wold wynne Rome, yf any man wold bryng you thyther. Behold nowe your buſines here is moch leſſe. I wolde ye wolde proue your ſtrength and hardyneſſe here by wynnyng of Nola, a citie of the countrey, ſet in the playne ñeldes, beinge compaſſed with nother fludde nor ſea, and than I ſhall other leade or folowe you, beyng laden with ſo ryche a pray, to what place ſo euer you wyll.

¶ Not withſtandyng, neyther theſe reproches, nor his entiſynges coulde preuayle to ſtrengthe theyr hartes: they were beaten backe on all ſydes. The hartes of the Romanes dyd encreaſe, not onely by theyr capytaynes exhortinges, but alſo by the Nolanes ſteryng and kyndlyng theyr courage to batayle. At lengthe the Carthaginenſes fledde, and were dryuen backe to their tentes. And Marcellus brought his ſouldiours to Nola with great ioye and thankes of the people, whoſe hartes before were moſt inclined to the Carthaginenſes. There were ſlayne that day aboue a. M. of theyr ennemies, and one thouſande. vi. C. taken, of ſtanderdes and baners. xx. and. iiii. elephantes ſlayne in the battayle: There were not a. M. Romanes ſlayne. The nexte daye truce was taken, whyche they ſpente in buryinge the deade bodyes. Marcellus made oblation to Vulcan with the ſpoyle of his ennemies. within thre dayes after, eyther for diſpleaſure, or hope of more wages. M. ii. C. lxxii. of Numidian horſmen and Spanyardes fledde from Annibal to Marcellus, whoſe faithfull ſtronge helpe and aide the Romanes vſed in that batayle often tymes after. Than Annibal ſent Hanno agayne to the Bruſians, with the hoſte which he brought before with hym from thens: and went hym ſelfe for the wynter to Apulia, and lay about Arpos.

¶ So ſoone as Quintus Fabius harde, that Annibal was gone to Apulia, and that he had brought corne as moche as he thought neceſſary to ſerue them for the winter, from Nola and Naples to the campe at Sueſſula, leauyng a ſufficiente garryſon there, he moued his campe nygh vnto Capua, burnyng and ſpoylyng theyr fieldes: ſo that they of Capua were conſtrayned) truſtyng lyttel to theyr owne ſtrength) to come out of the citie, and encampe them ſelues before the walles, for-

fortifyeng them with munimentes without the gates. They had. vi. M. ſouldiours armed, they coulde better ſkylle on horſebacke than on foote. Wherfore the horſemen euer prouoked theyr enemies by ſkyrmyſhyng. Soone after Quintus Fabius the conſull remoued his tentes backe from the Lampanes, that they myght tyll and ſowe theyr grounde; nother dyd he come thyther agayne to diſtroye any of the fieldes of the Lampanes, before the new corne was come vp of a good height, and able to be fother for theyr cattall. Than he came thyther agayne, and cauſed it to be gathered and broughte to Claudius tentes aboue Sucſſula, where he prouided for the wynter, cõmaundynge Marcus Claudius, that he leauynge a neceſſary garriſon at Nola for the defence therof, ſhuld ſend the reſidue of the ſowldyours to Rome, leſte that they ſhuld be bothe a charge to theyr frendes, and a coſte to the common wealthe.

¶ In the ende of ſommer, whan all theſe thinges were done, came letters from the Scipions, what great and proſperous actes they had done in Spayne: but all theyr money grayne and clothynge for theyr ſouldiours, and ſea men was ſpente. Whiche beinge pondered in the Senate, all thynges neceſſarye were ordeyned and ſente to them. And whan theſe ſtipendes and neceſſaries were come into Spayn, the towne of Illiturgus was beſieged of Haſdruball Mago and Amilcar, the ſonne of Bomilcar, for angre that they had changed their hartes, and yelded them to the Romans. Neuertheleſſe thorough all theſe thre hoſtes the Scipions valiantly entred into the towne of theyr frendes, not without greate fyght and ſlaughter, bryngynge with theym of grayne good plentye, wherof they had great nede there, exhortyng the citezens ſo valiantly to kepe and defende theyr towne, as they perceiued the Romaynes to fyght for them. Soone after they iſſued out to aſſayle the great campe, wherof Haſdruball was capitayn. Thyther came to his ſuccours the other two capitaynes of the Carthaginenſes with theyr two hooſtes, for there they knewe well ſhulde be the greatteſt battaile and moſt buſynes. And than ſodeynly runnyng out of theyr tentes, they mette togyther and fought. There were of the Carthaginenſes at that battayle. lx. M. And of the Romaynes aboute. xvi. M. neuertheleſſe the battayle was ſoo proſperous, that the Romanes

and that our new man hath gotten good experience, the yere is past, and a newe muste be put in his roume. How can thynges prospere, that thus be gouerned? Nowe, bycause I haue sufficiently spoken, what maner of men ye ought to chuse cõsulles: I wyll speake a lyttell of those, to whome the fauour of this election hath inclyned.

¶ Marcus Aemilius is one of the sacred priestes, whom we can not sende from the sacrifice, but we shall want the seruice due and accustomed to the goddis. And you Octacilius haue maryed my systers doughter, and haue chyldren by her: Neuertheleſſe your merytes and desertes towardes me and my frendes are not suche, but that I haue more respecte to the common welthe than to my priuate busynes. Euery maryner can in caulme wether rule the shyppe, but whan the sharpe stormes aryse, the sea beyng troubled, and the shyppe tossed with the wynde: Than is there nede of a man, and a gouernour. We sayle not now quietly, but are with troublous stormes almost drowned. Therfore we must prouyde with great diligence, who shal gouerne the sterne or helme: yea we must therof take hede before. We haue proued thy diligence T. Octacilius in lesser busynes, wherin truely thou dyddest not deserue, that we shulde committe to the any greatter charge: For thre causes we sent furthe a nauy the laste yere, of which thou were gouernour. Fyrst that the border of Affrica shuld haue bene wasted and distroyed: Seconde that the hauens or strondes of Italy shulde haue ben kepte safe for vs: And before all thynges that no succour, stypende or other necessaries, beinge sent from Carthage to Anniball, shulde haue free passage. I am content that ye make T. Octacilius consull, yf he can proue, that he dyd performe to the common welth any of these thynges to hym cõmytted. But yf thou being cappytayn of the nauy, all that was sent from Carthage to Anniball had as free passage, as though the sea had bene open: And if the borders of Italy this yere were more indaungered than the borders of Affrica: what canst thou alledge for thy selfe, that thou shuldest be chosen chiefe cappytayne agaynst Anniball? it appertayneth to no man more than to the T. Octacilius, to take heede that suche a burthen be not layde on thy necke, the weyght wherof wyll peise the downe. I do admonyshe and perswade you all, that in chosynge your consuls at

this

this tyme, ye vſe the ſame circumſpection, that ye wolde vſe, yf ye were dryuen to choſe twayne to gouerne your batayle, whan ye beinge in harneys on the playne againſte your enne-mies, were redy to fyght with theym. Traſymenus, and the example of Cannas, are very ſorowfull to be remembred: but they are ryght profytable, and a good document, to be ware of ſuche an other.

¶ After this oration, the prerogatiue of the yonge men was called in agayne: And than wente they to a newe election: in the which Quintus Fabius hym ſelfe was created the fourth tyme conſul: and Marcus Marcellus the thyrd time. Theſe were created without any variance: Nother did any man ſuſ-pect Quintus Fabius of couetouſnes of rule and gouernāce: but rather they praiſed the noblenes and courage of his hart. For that whan he ſawe, that the common welthe dyd want a good capytayne, and knewe hym ſelfe withoute doubte to be one: eſtemed the enuy, that he ſhulde haue (yf any ſhulde a-ryſe of that matter) leſſe than the profyt of the cōmon welth.

¶ Whan all thynges were ordeyned with great care and dy-ligence for the warres in all partes, the Campanes meruay-lyng of the great and exquiſite ordynance of the Romanes, whiche was moche greatter than it was wonte to be, and fea-ryng greatly, leſte they wold that yere begynne warre vpon theym: they ſent legates to Annibal incontinent, deſyrynge hym to moue his army to Capua, ſhewyng hym, that the Ro-manes hoſte was choſen and proſcribed to beſiege Capua, for that the defection of them was more diſpleſantly taken of the Romanes, than of any citie in Italy. And bycauſe the matter was ſo fearefully pronounced vnto hym, he made the greater ſpede to come thyther before the Romans. Whan he hadde bene there a ſeaſon, he lefte certayne of the Numidians and Spanyardes to defende the citie, and wente hym ſelfe to the lake of Auernus, vnder the colour to make ſacrifyce. Not withſtandyng his pretence was to ſet on Puteolus, and them that were left there in garryſon.

¶ Whan Fabius Maximus hearde, that Annibal was gone from Arpos, and tourned agayne to Campania, without re-ſtyng nyght or day, he went to the hoſt, and cauſed T. Grac-chus to remoue frome Luceria to Beneuentum, and made Quintus Fabius his ſonne to abyde in his place at Luceria:

and hym selfe came to Lassilinum, intendyng to besiege it, and the Carthaginenses that were therein. The same tyme (as it were a thynge appoynted) Hanno come from the Brusianes with a great host of horsmen and fotemen, to Beneuentū: but it chanced so, that Titus Gracchus came from Luceria thyther somwhat before hym, and entred the towne. And whan he hearde, that Hanno had pitched his tentes .iii. miles from the towne, at a water called Calor, and wasted the countrey, he went hym selfe out of the towne, and pytched his tentes a myle from his ennemy, and there he had an assemble of souldiours, wherof the moste part were of bondemen, that had bene in the warre the yere before. These bondemen thought by theyr desertes to be made free, before they wold desyre it openly: not withstandyng he perceyued a murmure of some of them, complaynyng and sayinge: Shall we neuer be free, and do battaile like free souldiours and citezens? Wherof he wrote letters to the senate, as well of their desyre, as of their deseruyng, sayinge, that he had euer vnto that day had theyr good faithful and strong helpe, and that they wanted nothing that belonged to good and iust souldiours, sauing liberty. Cōcerning that matter it was permitted vnto him, to do that whiche he shuld thinke mete for the profite of the cōmon welth. Wherupon before he wold do battaile with his aduersarye, he shewed his men, that the tyme was come, in whiche they might opteyne theyr libertie, that they so longe desyred and hoped after. for the nexte day they shuld fyght in a fayre and playne fielde, where the battayle shulde be done without any feare of disceyte, with cleane strengthe and hardynes, and he that then wold shewe the head of one of his ennemies, stryken of in battaile, shuld streight way be made free: and he that fledde, shuld be punished with vile seruitude for euer. Wherfore nowe (sayde he) euery mans fortune lyeth in his owne handes. For the confirmation of whiche his wordes, he said, that he alone was not the auctour of theyr lybertie: but that Marcus Marcellus the consull, and the fathers conscripte were agreable to the same. And thereof he had sente hym theyr letters, whiche he shewed and red vnto them. At these his wordes there arose a great noyse amonge them, desyryng battaylle incontynent, yf it myghte soo please hym. Than Gracchus lette the Conuocation passe, and appoynted the

battaile

battayle agaynſte the nexte daye. The ſouldyours were verye gladde, and in eſpeciall thoſe, whyche ſuppoſed theyr wages for one day to be perpetuall libertie.

¶ The battayle betwene Hanno and Gracchus, with the rewarde and alſo the punyſhement awarded by Gracchus to certayne bondemen of his hooſt. Capi. xxiiii.

The nexte daye, whan the trumpettes blewe to battayle, they came togyther in good araye, and anone vppon the ſonne ryſynge Gracchus broughte his ſowldyours in to battayle. And theyr ennemyes made no taryeng for theyr part. There were of them xvii. thouſande footemen, and one. M. ii. hundred horſemen, the battayle was very ſharpe, and laſted iiii. howres, not knowynge whiche ſhulde haue the victorye. There was nothynge troubled the Romanes more, than the heades of theyr ennemyes, whyche Gracchus had appoynted to be the pryce of theyr libertie. Wherfore euer as they had ſtryken downe any of theyr ennemies, they wolde ſtrike of his heade, and beare it in theyr handes in ſtede of weapon. Whyche thynge Gracchus apperceyuynge, commaunded, that euery man ſhulde leaue the head that he had in his hand, and take his weapon and fyghte. Than the battayle beganne more fierce than before, the capitaines on bothe partes exhortynge theyr men to fyghte. Gracchus ſhewed his people, that yf theyr ennemyes were not that daye put to vtterance, they ſhoulde neuer loke for theyr libertie. Whan the ſouldyours hearde hym ſaye ſo, theyr hartes were ſo kyndled, that they ranne freſſhe vppon theyr ennemyes with ſoo greatte vyolence, that they were not able to ſuſtayne theyr myghte and courage, but incontynent fledde towarde theyr campe. The Romaynes folowyng and purſuyng them, made a greatter ſlaughter in the flyght, than they dydde before in the battayle. There eſcaped not of the hole hoſte, aboue. ii. M. whiche fledde with theyr capitayne away, the moſt parte were horſemen, all the reſydue were other ſlayne or taken. There were not ſlayne of the Romayns paſſynge two thouſande. Whanne they were retourned in to theyr tentes, loden

loden with theyr great pray. iiii. M. of the bondmen, which had done euyll their deuoyre that day in battayle, had gotten a lyttell hyll not farre from the tentes, who were fetched agayne the day folowyng by the Tribunes, and came to the conuocation or courte holden by Gracchus to the souldyours: wherin he rewarded the old souldiours as he thought euery one had deserued. Than as concernyng the bondemen he sayd, that he had rather, that bothe worthy and vnworthy shulde that tyme be praysed of hym than punysshed: Neuertheless, bycause it had chaunced well to the commune welth and to them, he commaunded that all shulde be free, at which commaundement all at ones thankynge hym, desyred all welth to the Romaynes and to hym. Than sayd Gracchus: Nowe haue I fully performed my promyse of libertie to you all vniuersally: neuertheless to thentent it may be knowen, that I wyll put difference betwene well doing and euyll doinge, betwene vertuous courage, and cowardnesse, I wylle that ye bryngе me the names of all those, whiche departed from the fielde the day before. That doone, he caused theym all to be swoorne, that none of them shulde other eate or drinke otherwyse than standynge (onlesse they were diseased) so longe as they seryed in the warres. This punyshement (sayde he) ye shall paciently take, yf ye consyder with your selues, that I could not haue noted you with a lesse marke for your cowardyse than that is. Than commaunded he theym to trusse vp theyr stuffe: whiche done, the souldyours with great prayse came to Beneuentum, not lyke men that came from batayle: but as mery as though they had come from a bankette. The citezens receyued them meruaylous thankfully, and desyred Gracchus, that he wolde suffer the souldyours to feast with them, whiche he graunted.

¶ Whyles these thynges were done at Beneuentum, Hanniball wastynge the fieldes of the Neapolitanes, moued his tentes to Nola. Which whan the consull Marcellus perceiued: he sent for Pomponius the pretor to mete hym, with the hostes that lay at Suessula, intendyng that they bothe togyther, wolde meete hym, and he sente Claudius Nero with a stronge company of horsemen out of the towne by nyght, to compasse Annibali on the other syde, commandyng hym, that whan he sawe the battayle was begunne, he shulde sette vpon

his

his ennemies at theyr backes. Whiche his diuiſe Nero could not bryngе to paſſe, eyther bicauſe he knewe not the cumberſome wayes of the countrey, or els for that the ſhortenes of the tyme wolde not ſuffer hym. Marcellus in the mornynge mette with his ennemies, and gaue them batayle: in the whiche he had the victory, and cauſed his enemies to flee. neuertheleſſe he durſte not folowe theym, bycauſe he wanted his horſeman. Wherfore he cauſed his menne to recule. There were. ii. thouſande of their ennemies ſlayne, and not. iiii. hundred of the Romanes. Nero and the horſemen, labouryng in vayne the nyght and the day, without ſeing his enemies, came home about the ſonne ſette. for whiche his vayne iourney, he was ſore rebuked of the conſull, ſaying, that he was the cauſe as than, that theyr ennemies had not receiued as great loſſe, as they gaue at Cannas. The next day the Romans diſcēded into the fieldes, but Anniball kepte hym in his tentes, knowlegyng hym ſelfe to be ouercome. And the thyrde day, without hope of optaynyng Nola, truſtyng to haue better ſpede, remoued to Tarentum.

Quintus Fabius, the other conſull, had his tentes at Caſſilinum, whiche was kept with. ii. M. of the Campanes, and vii. C. of Anniballes ſouldiours. He cauſed Marcellus to come to hym with his hoſte, And if that the Nolans thought them ſelfes not ſafe from Annibal, that they ſhuld ſend to Beneuentū to Gracchus, to com to theyr ſuccours. which thing done, Caſſilinum was quyckely won, and the ſouldiours that were there, as well of Annibals as of Capua, were taken, and ſente to Rome, and there put in pryſon. There were taken by Fabius at that time many cities in Italy, and in them to the numbre of. xxv. M. of Anniballes ſouldiours and frendes taken and ſlayne, beſide. iii. C. lxx. vacabundes and runawayes, whyche were taken and ſente to Rome, and there whypped with roddes, and after put to death.

The cities of Hagūt in Spayn, and Arpos in Italy ar wonne by the Romains, kynge Siphax is become frende to the Romans, & is ouercom in batail by Maſſaniſſa. Ca xxxv.

There were the ſame yere in Spayne many batailes betwene Hago, and Haſdruball the capitaynes of Carthage

thage, and the Scipions. for before the Romane capitaynes coulde passe the ryuer of Iberus, Mago and Hasdrubal had slayne a great numbre of Spaniardes, frendes to the Romanes, and had opteyned the vtter part of Spayn, had not the Scipions come in tyme: whose commynge stayed the wauerynge myndes of many of that countrey. And there was betwixte the two capitaines great and many batailes foughten, in the whiche the Romaynes had alwaye the vpperhand: and in sundry batayles slewe great armyes of the Carthaginenses and theyr frendes, wanne diuers townes and castels, brought their enemies to so lowe an ebbe, that of a longe season they were glad to rest, doing no act worth memory. Than the Romane capytaines, remembryng that the citie of Sagunt had ben so long oppressed with the yoke of dominion of the Carthaginenses, they remoued theyr hooste thyther, and wanne the citie agayne, whyche they restored to the olde inhabitantes therof, that were lefte on lyue. Than they inuaded the Turditans, who were the fyrst causers of the warre with the Carthaginenses, whom they wan shortly, and distroyed their cities. These dedes were done in Spayne, Quintus Fabius Maximus, and Marcus Claudius Marcellus being consuls. Thā the officers for the yere to come, were chosen at Rome: where Quintus Fabius the yonger, sonne to the olde Consull, was chosen one of the consuls: and Titus Sempronius Gracchus the other: Than all the other officers in order. Whan to euery capitayne was assigned his hoste and warde: the warres agaynst Anniball were cōmytted to the consuls: Sempronius went to the Lucanes, and Fabius to Apulia. The father went as legate to the sonne, to shewe hym of the mynd of the senate. This yong Fabius lay than at the campe aboue Suessula: who hearynge that his father was come to hym as imbassadour from the senate, came furth to mete hym in his royall astate, with his .xii. sergeantes before hym: but xi. of his sergeantes, beholdyng the maiesty of olde Fabius, as he came rydyng, passed by, and nothyng sayd to him. Than the sonne being consull, commanded the .xii. sergeant to take hede to his office. Whe also with a lowde voyce commaunded his father to descende from his horse. Than incontinent his father alyghted, and sayde: I dyd this sonne, onely to proue whyther thou dyddest knowe, that thou arte Consull or not.

and

and ſo proceded furthe with hym, declarynge as was gyuen hym in charge.

¶ Soone after came to the ſame conſull into the campe oone Claſſius Altinius with his thre ſergeantes, from the towne of Arpos, promiſing for a good reward to delyuer to him Arpos. This matter was debated among the counſell, and by the more part agreed, that this Altinius ſhulde be ſcourged and ſlayne, as an inconſtant traytour and common enemye, conſyderyng that fyrſt he, after the battayle of Cannas, was cauſer of the yeldyng the towne to Annibal, chaungyng his fidelitie as fortune chaunged. And nowe agayn, ſeinge the power of the Romaynes to begin to ryſe in proſperitie, he wold begyn a newe treaſon. Wherfore they thought it not to be ſuffred, but that he ſhuld be ordred as an vntrewe felowe and a vayne ennemye.

¶ Agaynſte whyche theyr determynation ſpake olde Q. Fabius, ſayinge, that they oughte to conſyder the perylous tyme of warre, and ſo to procede, that they loſe none of theyr faythfull frendes by any occaſyon or example that they dyd ſhewe: but by all meanes poſſible, yf any of their frendes were fallen from them, to fynde meane to purchaſe theym agayne. And whan any of them knowledgeth their offences, and deſyreth to returne to their olde amitie: with great gentylnes to receyue them. for in caſe ye wylle admytte it to be more heynous for oure frendes to retourne agayne to vs, than it is for theym to goo frome vs, there is no doubte, but ſhortely we ſhall ſee the moſte parte of our frendes in Italye leaue our frendſhyppe, and alye theym ſelues with Annibal. Neuertheleſſe (ſaythe he) I wylle not aduyſe you to gyue moche faythe to Altinius, but kepyng a good meane, nother repute hym as an ennemye, nor truſte hym as a frende: but that he be ſente to ſomme of youre cyties neere adioynynge, there to be ſafely kepte, tyll the warres be ended: at whyche tyme we may at lengthe conſulte, whether the fyrſte his departyng from vs hath deſerued more punyſhment, than his retourne hathe deſerued pardon. This his aduyſe toke place. Ihe was ſente with his companye to Cales. And the Conſull determyned, to beſiege Arpos. Wherfore folowing his purpoſe, he pitched his campe within a myle of the towne

where he myghte viewe the towne, and there perceyued on the one parte therof, whiche was leste vsed, a lowe gate and a narowe. To this gate he appoynted certayn good capitaynes, and .vi. C. actiue souldiours, to beare scalyng ladders about .iii. of the clocke in the mornyng before day, cõmandynge them, first to assay to scale that towre: whiche doone, than on the inner part to breke downe the walles or the gate, and beyng masters of part of the towne, by the sowne of a horne, to gyue hym knowlege, wherby he with the reste of his hooste might approche to theyr succour. This his deuise with spede was executed. And the chaunce was suche, that one thynge, whiche was thought wolde be a greate let of theyr purpose, best holpe them, and disceyued their ennemies: whiche was, that about the myddes of the nyghte, there felle so great abundãce of raine, with so vehement a storme, that the watchemen were of force driuen, leauyng their appoynted places on the walles, to descende and entre into theyr howses: where abydyng a good season, they fell on slepe. In this whyle had the Romans scaled the walles, and were besye to breake vp the gates. Whose noyse was not heard of the watchemen: so rude was the storme, and suche noise made the huge rayne. Than blewe they hornes, at whose sownde the consull drewe nere, and about the breake of the day entred the citie by the broken gate. Than was theyr entre discried. There was of Anniballes men in that towne. v. M. souldiours, the towne also had armed. iii. thousande men, whyche townes men the Carthaginenses caused to go in the front of the battaile, mystrustynge to haue them behynde at their backes. After a littell skyrmyshyng in the stretes, dyuers of the townes men of Arpos, and certayne of the Romanes, whyche were before of acquayntaunce, beganne to common and talke togyther. Fyrst spake the Romans, & sayd: O ye men of Arpos, what do ye meane, to take part with these barbarous nation against your own cuntrey men? Wherin haue the Romans offended you? or what haue the Carthaginenses deserued vnto you, that ye shuld thus trauail to make Italy subiect & tributary to Affrica? The Arpins excused them selues, saying, that they were betrayed & sold by their captains to the Carthaginẽsis, & almost vtterly distroyed. Theyr communication stayed the fyghtyng. And after a certayn space, the pretor or gouernour

of

of the towne was brought by his men to the conſull: Where they ſo well agreed, that incontinente the Arpines toke the part of the Romans againſt the Carthaginenſes. There were alſo in the towne about a thouſande Spanyardes, who all in lykewyſe tourned to the Romanes: but fyrſt they opteyned of the Conſul, that the garriſon of the Carthaginenſes might freely depart the towne, to go at their liberty: Whiche was truely perfourmed. They departed to Salapia, where Annibal was, and the towne incontinent was deliuered to the Romanes, without loſſe of any of theyr army.

¶ The Scipions in this ſpace had broughte theyr buſyneſſe proſperouſly to paſſe in Spayne, bothe in conſeruyng theyr olde frendes, and gettynge of newe: beſydes this ſodeynly they had comforte to do good in Affrica, by the reaſone of one Syphax a kyng of Numidia, who as thā was become an ennemy to the Carthaginenſes. To this kynge were ſent. iii. legates, that ſhuld bring him in amitie with the Romans, and alſo cauſe him to make warre vpon the Carthaginenſes. This meſſage was alſo very acceptable to Syphax. Whervpon he reaſoned with the legates, that were expert men of warre, and perceyued many thynges, wherin he and his men before were ignorant. Wherfore whan they wolde haue departed, he intreated them, that two of them wold retourne home to theyr capitaynes, to deſyre a ſure aliaunce betwene hym and the Romanes, and to aſcertayne them of his full mynde: and that the thyrde of them myght remayne ſtyll with hym, to be gouernour of his army, ſaying that his men were good horſe men, but they were nothynge ſkylfull to fyght on foote. To this his requeſt they agreed, and departed, takyng the kynges othe and promyſe, that in caſe theyr capitayns wold not agree therto: that incontinent theyr felowe, whiche was left behynd, ſhuld be ſent home to them agayn. The name of hym that remayned with kyng Syphax, was Statorius, who anon choſe out a greate numbre of yonge and actyue men, whome he taught to folowe theyr baners, and to kepe theyr aray after the Romayne facion: So that in ſhorte ſpace, Syphax thought hym ſelfe able, bothe on horſebacke and on foote, to gyue battayle to the Carthaginenſes. Thus was there a ſafe bande of peace and amytie betweene the Romaynes and Syphax.

¶ Whan the Carthaginenſes were ware ther of, they ſent incontinent meſſangers to one Gala, kyng of the other part of Numidia. This Gala had a ſonne of. xvii. yeres of age, a noble and wyſe yong man, called Maſſaniſſa. The imbaſſadours ſhewed the king, that better it were for him, with their helpe to ouercome Syphax betyme: than by his meanes the Romans ſhuld haue any entre into Affrica.

¶ With ſuche wordes, they perſwaded Gala to the warre: and moche the ſooner, for that Maſſaniſſa his ſonne deſyred to be gouernour of that army. Whervppon the army of the Carthaginenſes was ioyned to Maſſaniſſa his army. And at the fyrſte battayle Syphax was ouercome, and. xxx. M. of his men ſlayne: ſo that with a fewe horſemen he fledde to the Mauritaynes, that inhabyted nygh the Gades or pyllars of Hercules, where he gathered a newe army of men, thinkyng to sayle ouer into Spayne: but er euer he could take the water, Maſſaniſſa, with his armye, camme agayne on hym, and without the helpe of the Carthaginenſes, fought a noble batayle with hym, and ouercame hym.

¶ Annibal through the treaſon of Nico and Philomenes, wynneth the citie of Tarent. Cap. xxxvi.

ANniball this ſeaſon euer hauing hope, that the citie of Tarent ſhuld, by one meane or other, be wõne, as is before ſayd, made his abode not farre from that citie. And to bring his opinion to his purpoſe, there happed a fortunate chãce by the meanes of oone Phileas a Tarentine, who longe tyme had taryed at Rome, as a meſſanger of the Tarentines. There were than at Rome dyuers pledges of the noble bludde of Tarent, kept in gentyl kepyng. To theſe pledges this Phileas foũd the mean to haue often recours, and at length he ſo corrupted the kepers, that they ſuffered them to depart out of the citie in the begynning of the nyght: and Phileas went with them to guide them by ſecrete ways. In the morning yarly the fame of the pledges departing was ſprede abrode through the citie, and a great numbre purſued thẽ with ſpede: ſo that before they had far trauailed, they ouertoke them, & brought them all backe agayn into the citie: where

Wherefor theyr offences, iudgement was gyuen, that they ſhuld be firſt ſcourged with roddes naked, and than brought to a hygh rocke: from the toppe wherof they ſhulde be throwen downe to the grounde.

¶This cruell ende of thoſe nobles offended moch the mindes of dyuers cities in Italy and Grece, ſpecially thoſe that were of kynne or by amitie alyed to any of theym that were ſlayne: among whiche ſort. xiii. of the nobles of Tarent conſpired agaynſt the Romans, of whom the captayns and chief were Nico and Philomenes. They were great hunters, and vſed moche to iſſue out of the citie in the nyght to go on huntyng. Wherfore by the colour of goinge on huntynge, they went towarde the army of Anniball, intendyng to ſpeke with him, and to declare vnto him theyr intentes. Whā they came nere the campe, they two leauyng theyr company in a wodde nere adioynyng, wente to the campe: and anone were taken of the watchemen, and brought to Anniball, as theyr requeſt was: to whom they declared theyr purpoſe and good wylle. And he gaue theym greate thankes, and ſente theym hoome agayne looded with fayre promyſes. And to couer the better theyr deuyſe, he wylled them to dryue with them certayn cattalle of the Carthaginenſes, ſayinge, they hadde gotten that praye of theyr ennemyes: whyche they were ſuffered to doo without reſyſtence: and brought them home to Tarent with ioye. This vſed they to do oftentymes: ſo that it was thoughte meruayle, that they ſoo often enterpryſed ſuche feates, and euer eſcaped vnſlayne. Thus often they vſed, and euer whan they kylled any veniſon, or brought any praye from the Carthaginenſes (whyche they were ſuffered to do at all tymes at theyr pleaſures) they eyther gaue it to the capytayne of the citie, a Romayne, or elles to the porter of the gates: ſoo that they had brought the porter in ſuche a cuſtome, that whan ſoo euer Philomenes dyd but whiſtell, at all tymes of the nyghte, the gates were opened vnto hym.

¶Whan they had brought all thynges in this good caſe for their purpoſe, they wente to Anniball, and agreed with hym on this couenaunt, that the Tarentines ſhulde lyue euer vnder their owne lawes and cuſtomes. Alſo that they ſhoulde paye hym noo Trybute, nor haue anye armye appoynted by

by Annball to kepe the citie, but at their owne plesure. And that they shulde enioy all their goodes. Onely that the souldiours of the Romanes, whiche were in the citie, and their goodes, shulde be at the pleasure and wyl of Annball. Than lay Annball. iii. dayes iourney from Tarent, and bycause he wolde not haue his longe abode there, to be suspecte, he fayned hym selfe to be sycke, and caused it to be bruted abrode, that his sycknes was the cause of his longe lyinge in that one place. But agaynste the tyme he wolde haue the towne, he chose out. x. thousand horsemen, and of the lightest footemen of his army: and remoued from his campe in the nyght, makyng spede tyll he came within. xv. mile of Tarent, where he secretely abode, chargyng his men, in no wise to breake their aray or order: but that they shuld be redy to do what their capitaynes dyd cõmaunde them, and none other. But fyrste, er he sette furth, to couer the better his remouing, and to thintent that none of the countrey shulde descrye his armye: he sent. iiii. score Numidians lyght horsemen, to go before hym, chargyng them to ouerrunne the cuntrey, by whiche he with his army shuld passe. And yf they ouertoke any men, to bring them backe. And if they met with any, they shuld slea them to the intent it shulde be thought by the inhabitantes as they went, that they were robbers and theues, and not menne of warre. The fame of their robbyng came to the eares of the Romayne capitayne at Tarent: who toke but smalle regarde therto, thynkyng syth Annball hym selfe was sycke, and his army so farre of, that he wolde the next day sende furth certayne of his men of armes, to dryue away those robbers, and to saue the corne and cattall of his frendes. The same nyght, in the deade parte therof, remoued Annball toward Tarent, hauynge Philomenes with hym, as his guyde. Whan they came nigh to the towne, it was appoynted, that Philomenes shulde entre the towne, with a numbre of men in harneys, at the gate, where he was wonte to entre, bryngynge his praye from huntynge. Whan he came thither, he awaked the porter, saying, that he had brought a great boore that he had slayn. At the fyrst call the porter opened the gates: and fyrste let in two yong men of his company: than entred he, and other his seruantes, pluckyng in the great boore. at whose greatnesse whyle the keper was daryng and musynge, Philomenes soden-

deynly ſlew hym with his boore ſpeare or huntyng ſtaffe: and incontinent let in. xxx. other men in harneis, who ſlewe the other watchemen of the ſaid gate: and without noiſe let in the reſt of the army, and ſecretely brought theym into the market place, where they abode a ſpace without makyng any noyſe. Whiles this was done at one gate, Annibal, with a great nũbre with hym, came priuily towarde an other gate, and a farre of he made a great fyre, which was a ſigne or token made betwene hym and Nico, who abode with other his complices, redy within the towne, loking for his commyng. Whiche fyre whan Nico perceyued, he (as it were anſweryng to the ſame) made him an other fyre. And whan eyther perceyued other, incontinent both theyr fyres were ſodeinly put out. And Anniball beganne to approche with his army to the gates. Nico alſo within the citie, cam to the porters ward, which he found open, and fyndyng the watche on ſlepe, ſlewe all the kepers therof, and openyng the gates, lette Anniball and his company of footemen entre: for the horſemen were cõmaunded to abyde in the playnes without, to do there as neede requyred. Thus they entred the towne, and makyng no noyſe, came into the market place, where they mette with Philomenes, and his other company. Thã had he in his company. ii. M. frenchmen, whyche he deuyded in thre partes, and ſent them to dyuers partes of the citie. The affricanes and the Tarentynes he cauſed to kepe the moſte accuſtomed ſtretes of the towne: commaundynge theym, to ſlea all the Romaynes, but in any wyſe to ſpare the Tarentine citezens. And to that pourpoſe he appoynted the ſayde yonge gentylmenne of Tarent, that were his helpers and frendes, to be in the company of the other his ſouldyours. So that whan they ſawe any citezens, they ſhulde comfort them, byddyng them, not to be affrayde: for they ſhulde haue no hurt. Than beganne a great rumour and noyſe to be rayſed in the towne, as is euer, where ſoo ſodeyne chaunce happeth. The capytayne at the fyrſte noyſe, doubtyng treaſon, fledde to the hauen, and frome thens, in a ſmalle bote, paſſed ouer into the caſtell.

¶ Whanne the day appeered, and that the harneys and armes of the Carthaginenſes were perceyued, and alſo of the frenchemen, with the deathe of ſoo many Romaynes: than was it manyfeſt, that Anniball had wonne the towne. Wher-

vpon the Romanes that might escape, fledde into the sayd castell. Than caused Annball the citezens to assemble togither without armure, to here his pleasure, which they all obeyed. There dyd he declare vnto them, the loue and great affection that he hath euer borne vnto them, and the gentylnes that he had shewed vnto them at the battaile of Trasymenus, and the battaile of Cannas, whan he sent vnto theym suche of theyr frendes, as he had taken captiues, without any hurt, impediment, or raunsome. And after he expressed, with great inuectiues, the cruel and proude dominion, that the Romans euer hadde ouer them. From the whiche he was come to delyuer them: wyllinge euery one of them of the citie, to retourne home to his house: and with spede to wryte his name on the doore of his owne house. for incontinent he wold sende his souldiours to spoyle and distroy suche houses, as had not the names entitled on the doores: Chargynge theym on peyne of deathe, that none of theym shoulde write his name vppon the doore of any Roman: for that was the mark, wherby his men myghte knowe the houses of his frendes, from those of his ennemies.

¶ With this exhortation he lycensed euery man to departe home, and within a certayn space, he gaue a sygne to his souldiours, to spoyle the houses of the Romanes. Whiche was done, and good spoyle therof taken. On the morowe he determined to assault the castell: but whan he sawe the stronge naturall site therof, beyng halfe compassed with the sea, beatyng on the great hygh rockes, and on the other halfe hauing great dyches and hyghe walles towarde the towne: he was lothe to spende his tyme in the assaultyng therof, and to leaue other great thynges not folowed. Neuertheless being loth to leaue his frendes the Tarentines, open to all inuasyons of the men of armes of the Castell. (For to the towne they myght at all tymes haue accesse at their pleasure) he thought to make a walle and dyche on the towne syde, betwene them and the castelle. And he hadde this opinyon, that whan the dyche were castynge, the Romaynes wolde aduenture to make excursion on the labourers, to lette his worke and purpose. And he intended, that yf they so fiersely wold do, so to dispose his men pryuily in imbushmentes: that such slaughter of them shulde be made, that they shoulde not be able after to

hurt

hurte the towne. And euen as he thoughte, ſoo camme it to paſſe. For ſo ſoone as the worke was begunne, anone the gate of the caſtell was ſette open, and the Romaynes came on the workemen and Carthaginenſes, with ſuche violence, that anone they gaue backe, and ſommewhat the more purpoſely, to enhaunce theyr hartes and courage, and to allure theym further frome theyr holde. But anone, at a certayne token gyuen, the imbuſſhemente brake out, and with ſuche force inuaded the Romaynes, that they fledde backe with moche ſpeede towarde the caſtelle: but than was the ſtrete ſoo narowe, by whyche they muſte paſſe, and they ſoo troubled with the baggage of the labourers, that laye in their waye, that many more were ſlayne in the fleinge, than were before in fyghtynge. Thus was the power of the Caſtell, lefte ſo ſmall, that afterwarde theyr workes were neuer lette, but that the depe dyche and walle were made in ſuche wyſe, that he neded not to leaue any garryſon in the towne. Neuer the leſſe for theyr ſauegarde he lefte a certayn of his ſouldiours: and he with the reſte of his army remoued fyue myles from thenſe to the ryuer of Baleſus, where he pitched his tentes. Soone after he retourned to viewe the ſtrength of the Caſtell: and thought it myght be wonne with a ſaute. Whervppon he cauſed all maner of engyns to be made, and ſette vp agaynſte the walles: to the greatte feare of theym of the Caſtell. But ſodeynly in the nyghte came a certayne of ſhyppes of menne of warre, frome Metapontus, whyche than was holden with Romans, and entred the hauen: by whoſe healpe they of the Caſtell threwe downe, and burned all the ingynes and munymentes of the Carthaginenſes. Wherby Annball loſte his hope of wynnynge the caſtelle by any aſſaulte: but than he ymagyned, by contynuall ſiege to famyſhe theym. Whyche purpoſe alſo ſerued hym nothynge. For they of the caſtelle hadde the ſea free on the oone ſyde, where they receyued vytayles at theyr pleſure: And the Romaynes, beynge maſters of the hauen, kepte all prouyſyon frome the cytie, that was wonte to comme by water. Soo that they were moche more lyke to endure famyne, thanne the other of the caſtelle, whome they beſieged. Wherfore Annball, myſtruſting the ſtrength

of the place, called the rulers of Tarent before hym, and sayde:

¶ I beholde the nature, the site, and all the strengthe of this castell, and I can not see, that any assault can preuayle, so long as our ennemies be lordes of the sea, and haue that at liberty. But if we may (said he) haue shippes, which may restrain vitailes to be brought to them: either they wil depart thens, or yeld vnto vs. To this the Tarentines agreed well: but they said, that he must helpe, that some of the nauy of Carthage, which were in Sicilia, might be caused to comme thither, to kepe the said port. Why (sayde Anniball) haue you no shyppes of your owne. Yes truely (sayde they) but they lye here in a littell creke, and so longe as our ennemies haue the dominion of the mouthe of the hauen, howe can they euer escape in to the brode seas? Yes said Anniball feare it not. for many thinges, that naturally be letted, by witte and policy may be brought to passe. Your citie is situate on a playne and euen grounde, and your stretes and ways be brode, to passe to all partes. Your shippes wyll I conuey through the high way, that leadeth through the middell of your citie, vpon waines and wheles, vnto the hauen, with smalle charge. And the sea shall be ours, that nowe our enemies be lordes of. Than both by sea and by lande, we wyll compasse them: so that shortely they shall be dryuen to forsake the castell, or els we shall take bothe them and it also.

¶ This his wyse diuise made all men to haue wonder and admiration of hym, with also a hoope of a good succesſe of his purpose. Furth withal waynes and cartes were gathered and tyed togither. Than were engins made, to raise and to drawe vp the shippes, and the ways made hard, euen, and leuell, that they myght the more easily be drawen on them. Thus with strength of beastes and men, the shyppes were broughte to the hauen, and in fewe daies garnished with men and all thinges necessary, and brought rounde about the castell, castyng their ankers before the mouthe of the hauen.

Fuluius

¶ Fuluius Flaccus the Romane conſull, wynneth the campe of Hanno, ſleeth and taketh a great number of men with a ryche pray. Hago ſleeth Titus Gracchus and many Romaynes, thrꝛough the treaſon of Flauius a Lucan. Capitu. xxxvi.

WHyles Annibal was thus occupied aboute the buſyneſſe of Tarent, Quintus Fuluius Flaccus, and Appius Claudius, that were choſen conſuls foꝛ that yere, were com with bothe their armyes into the parties of the Sammites: and the rulers of Capua feared greatly, leſt they dyd intende ſhoꝛtly to beſiege their citie. Alſo plentye of coꝛne beganne than to faile them. foꝛ the legions of the Romans hadde ſo inuaded their countrey, that the Campanes durſt neither tyll noꝛ ſow their groundes. wherfoꝛe they ſent legates vnto Annibal, deſiring hym, to cauſe plenty of wheate to be brought to Capua, from the countrey adioynyng: beforе that the conſuls dydde enter their countrey with theyꝛ armies. Wherꝛpon Annibal ſent meſſangers to Hanno, that he ſhuld come from the Bruſians with his army into Cãpania: And to make prouiſion, that the Campanes might haue good plenty of coꝛne ſent to them.

¶ Hanno (as he was commaunded) leauynge the Sammites, and the Conſuls, paſſed by, tyll he came within. iii. myles of Beneuentum: where on a mountayne he pitched his campe, and in townes of his frendes adioyning, to which great plentie of wheate the ſommer beforе had bene caryed, he made goodly prouiſion foꝛ the Campanes, and ſent woꝛde ſecretely to Capua, what day they ſhuld, with all the waynes and cartes that they coulde aſſemble in the countrey, reſoꝛte to the ſayd places, foꝛ to fette away their ſaid wheate. The Campanes, lyghtly and ſklenderly foꝛeſeing their buſines and welth, at the day aſſigned, came thither, bringyng with them but. iiii. hundred cartes: which theyꝛ ſlouth Hanno greatly rebuked, maruaylyng, that they wolde no moꝛe hedily auoyde hunger whiche all brute beaſtes labour to eſchue. Wherfoꝛe he ſente them home laden, and appoynted them an nother day, to reꝛtourne againe foꝛ a moche greatter quantitie.

¶ This appoyntment came to the eares of the Beneuentanes.

nes. Whervpon incontynent they sente tenne messangers to the Consulles, certifyenge theym of all the Campanes purpose. And they furthwith agreed, that Fuluius, with his armye shoulde goo to Beneuentum, and enter the towne, in the nyghte, kepynge him close therin, tyll he sawe tyme apte for his purpose. So soone as Fuluius was entred Beneuentum, it was shewed hym, that Hanno with a parte of his army was gone furth for wheate: and that. ii. M. wayns were come to the campe with a great rude sort of people vnarmed, where they lay myngled amonge the souldiours, kepyng no order after the vse of men of warre. This knowen, the consul cõmanded his men to be redy with their baners & armure: for the next night he wold assayle the Campanes, and the tentes of the Carthaginenses. They executyng his commandement made them redy, and about. iiii. of the clocke, they set furthe of the towne, and came to Hannos campe, a lyttell before the dawnyng of the day. At their fyrst commynge, with their sodain noise, the Carthaginenses becam so feareful, that if the campe had be pitched on plain ground, they had wonne it with small resistence: but the height of the hyll, with the defẽses that they had made therabout, was such, that they could no way get vp vnto them: but by great steppes and climming. In the daunyng of the day the bataile began to waxe stronge, the Carthaginenses not onely defended their campe, but also they kept the hyll without, euer throwing doune the Romãs that stroue wondersly to clymme the place. Neuertheless at length by great pein and trauaile, and also with great losse and hurt of men, they gat to the diches of the campe. The consull aduisyng well the mischief that shulde fall to his company, in winning the place, callid the tribunes vnto him, saying: that he wold no further at that time pursue his folishe enterprise, but that he wold returne for that day to Beneuentũ. And on the morow he wold ioyne his campe to the campe of his enmies: so that the Campanes shuld not issue out, nor Hanno haue recours again to thẽ, whan he were returned. And to bring this better and more surely to passe, he wolde sende for his felowe Claudius the consull, with his army to assist him therin: whan the tribune caused the retreate to be sowned, his souldiours, that were earnestly busy aboute their enterprise, wolde gyue none eare therto. Among other there was one Vibius, a capitayn

pitain of a cõpany of the Pelignes, who ſtreight toke his baner in his hande, and with force threwe it ouer the diche into the campe of the Carthaginenſes. Than ſayd he: Euyl might I fare and my company, if myn enemies ſhall enioy my baner. Than by great force he lightly went ouer the diché, & clame vp, and entred the campe of his enemies: whom his company boldly folowed. While they thus fought within the cãpe of the Carthaginenſes, on an other part cried Valerius Flaccus: what ſluggiſhe cowardes are we nowe waxen? ſhall the Pelignes wynne the honour of taking the campe of our ennemies before vs Romans? Whervpon Titus Pedanius a capitayn of a hũdred men, toke his ſtanderd in his hande from his ſtanderde bearer, ſaying: This ſtanderde wyll I beare in to the fielde of myne enemies, folowe me fyrſt as many as wolde be lothe of the loſſe therof. And anone he and his companye were goten into that other part of the cãpe. The conſul perceyuing their hardynes, changed his mynd of calling them away, and began to comfort them: exhorting the reſt, to helpe their felowes, that ſo valiantly fought in the campe of theyr enmies. By whoſe harty wordis, euery man inforced him ſelfe to enter, not regarding the dartes nor weapons of their enemies, as people fearyng no peryll: And as people that cared not for deth, ſo they might dye in the campe of their enemies. Thus within ſhort ſpace, that ſtrong place was wõne, & aboue vi. M. ſlayn, & vii. M. taken, with the men of Campania, that came for corne, with al their cartes, and a riche pray that Hãno before had gotten in the ñeldes of the frendes of the Romans. Whiche pray the conſuls ſolde (for by that tyme was Claudius alſo come thither) & therwith rewarded their men, ſpecially Vibius and Pedanius. Whan Hanno hearde of the loſſe of his people, he fledde backe againe to the Brutianes, with a fewe men whiche he had taken with hym, to get in the wheate for the Campanes.

¶ The Cãpanes, heryng of the loſſe of their men & frendes, ſent to Annibal, ſhewing him, that both the cõſuls were at Beneuentũ, within a days iorney of Capua, intending to lay ſiege to their city. And it was to be feared, leſt (if he did not ſhortly ſuccour them) that the Romans wold wynne and diſtroy that citie. They ſaid further, that nother the caſtell of Tarent, nor the town alſo, ought to be ſo moch eſtemed of him, as Capua.

The

the noblenes wherof he knew well him selfe. In so moch that he was wont to compare it vnto Carthage. Wherfore they trusted, that he wold not leaue it vndefended, to haue it spoiled and distroyed by the Romayns.

¶ Annibal hering this message, shewed to the ambassadours, what loue he bare vnto their citie, promising to be euer a defender therof. With these gentyll wordes he sent them home again, & he sent with them also. ii. M. horsmen, by whose helpe they might defend their fieldes from robbing and wastyng.

¶ In the meane whyle P. Cornelius the pretor, with certain shippes, laden with wheate, came into the hauen of Tarent, through the hole power of the Carthaginenses. He caused also suche souldiours as were at Metapontus in garrison, to come to the castell of Tarent, there to remaine for the defence therof: by whose cõminge, they of the castell were than sure from any hurt of their ennemies. but so soone as the inhabitantes of Metapontus were deliuered of the Romayne garrison, they incontinent fell in leage and amitie with Annibal. Wherupon the Thurines, also hauynge a grudge to the Romans, for sleing diuers of their frendes, as is aforsaid, deuysed a meane, to bringe their citie to the amitie of Annibal: The kynsmen of them that were slayne, sente messangers to Hanno and Mago, who than were among the Brusians: willing them to come with their army, to lay siege to the towne: not doubtyng, but that one Marcus Attinius, the ruler of a smalle company of the Romaynes, left for the defence of the towne, wolde anon be brought to issue out, and to gyue them battaylle, vppon the trust that he had in the yong men of armes of the towne: whom before he had armed and instructed in the feates of warre, after the Roman facion. And they douted not, but this sort wold doo hym small pleasure, whan he shuld haue most nede of theym. The two capitains, hearing this glad tidinges, with spede entred the fieldes of the Thurines, diuydyng their company betwene theym. Hanno with the footemen, with baners displayed, in good aray, went towarde the towne: Mago with all the horsmen abode in a valey vnder certayn hylles that were nigh the towne. Attinius knowing only of the company of fotemẽ, put his men in good aray, and with great courage issued out of the towne, nothing mystrustyng the myschiefe wrought agaynst hym within the

towne

towne. The battaile was quicke on the part of the Romans: but the Thurines ſtode as men that gaue the lokynge on, not as enemies. Hanno with his men of pourpoſe gaue backe, to drawe the Romanes into the daunger of their horſmen. And whan they came nere the hilles, than they fiersly aſſayled the Romayns. and on the other ſyde, Mago with his horſemen came ſodainly and egrely vpon them: at the fyrſt encountring the Thurines fledde into their towne, as faſt as they coulde. The Romans for a ſeaſon mainteyned the battaile: but at the laſt, being conſtrained thereto, they alſo fledde towarde the towne: The traytours, that were cauſers of al this miſchief had gotten to the gate with their power, and againſt the commyng backe of the Thurines that fledde, they kept open the gates, and receyued them into the towne: but whan the Romanes came fleyng, alſo thinkyng to haue entred with the other, they cried: It is tyme nowe to ſhutte the gates: for els we ſhall lette the Carthaginenſes into the towne among our owne men, and ſo loſe all. Whervpon they ſhut theyr gates, and ſuffred the Romans to be slayne by their ennemies without ſuccour. Only Attinius the capitayn, who gentilly had ordered them, while he was ruler there, they ſuffered to enter with a fewe with him: and incontinent they gaue him a ſhippe in the hauen, and badde hym ſaue him ſelfe by the ſea. After whoſe departynge they opened the gates, and receyued the Carthaginenſes.

¶ Nowe were the conſuls departed from Bencuentū, to aſſaute Capua, thinkyng, that they ſhuld make their yere happy and honourable to them, yf they might wynne Capua, that was ſo noble and riche: and reuenge them of the iniuries, by them before done. Neuertheleſſe, to the intent the Beneuentanes ſhulde not be lefte withoute ſuccours in theyr abſence, they ſent to Titus Gracchus, who was than in the cuntrey of the Lucans, commandyng hym, with his horſemen and other lyght footemen, to come to Beneuentum: leauynge with the Lucanes the reſte of his men, vnder ſome capitayn, whom he myght truſte.

¶ The Lucans were than diuided, diuers townes were rendred vp to Annibal, and certaine abode vnder the Romaynes iuriſdiction: of the which ſort the chiefe rular that yere was one Flauius, a Lucan. This Flauius ſodeynly was tourned

in his mynde to Annibal: and to obteyne his fauour, he sente to Mago, that was than among the Brutians, to come speke with hym. Whan they were mette, a composition was made betwene them, that if he coulde delyuer Gracchus, the capitayn of the Romain army, the Lucanes shulde be frendly receiued in amitie with the Carthaginēses, and lyue after their own lawes. Thā brought he Mago to a great couert, where he willed him, with a great numbre of men of armes to hyde hym: appoyntyng hym a tyme, at whiche he wolde bring thither the Romaine capitayne. After this appoyntment he departed, and went to Gracchus, to whom he shewed, that he had begunne secretely a great enterpryse, whyche to bryngе to effecte, he muste haue his healpe and assystence. I haue (sayde he) moued and perswaded all the pryncis of the Lucans, that were gone to the amitie of Annibal, nowe to retourne agayne to the obedience of Rome. I haue declared vnto them the increase of the Romanes power, whiche dayly we may perceiue, and the decrease of the strength of the Carthaginenses. And I bad them not mystrust the gentylnes of the Romains, whose nature we haue euer tryed to be meke and gentyll to suche as haue rebelled agaynst them, vpon hūble submissiō to them made. With these my persuasions they be all contented to be reconciled: so that they may here you speake the same, layng your right hand in theirs, as a pledge of your faithe, whervnto they may trust. And I haue (sayde he) vndertaken, that you shall doo it, and I haue appoynted them for that composition a secrete place, wel out of the way from our company, for feare of espies, yet not far from your campe: where, with fewe wordes, you may go through with them in this matter, and by this meane bryng all the Lucanes wholly vnder your iurisdiction.

¶ Gracchus nothyng mystrustynge disceite and treason to be in his wordes, toke his officers and horsemen with him, al vnarmed, and so rode to the place appointed, hauynge Flauius with hym as a guyde. So soone as they were come thyther, Mago with his army inuaded theym sodaynly. And to make the treason more euident, Flauius incontinent ioyned him to the Carthaginenses. Than was there plenty of dartes caste at Gracchus, and his horsemen, and whan he sawe noo other remedy, he alyght from his horse, and bad his company doo

the

the ſame, exhortynge them, ſyns they were but fewe in number, and vnarmed, in ſuche place, where they coulde by noo waye eſcape, that they wolde not dye lyke beaſtes vnreuenged, but that with noble hartes they ſhoulde aſſaile theyr ennemyes, and dye bathed and beſprynkled in the bloudde of theyr ennemies: whereby they ſhulde ende in moſte honour: But ſpecially aboue all thyng (ſayde he) lette euery of vs, ſeeke to ſlea that Lucane traytour Flauius, not doubtynge, but who ſo euer ſhall ſende that traytours ſoule to helle, before he dye hym ſelfe, he ſhall fynd the oblation ther of, todoo hym moche comforte and ſolace. As ſoone as he hadde thus ſpoken, he threwe his clooke aboute his lefte arme, in ſtede of his ſhielde, and ranne vppon his ennemies, who with their dartes and weapons, ſlewe moſt part of the Romaines. And whan they ſawe Gracchus without helpe, they intended to take hym on lyue: but ſo ſoone as he perceiued Flauius amonge his ennemies, he ranne through the thickeſt of them, with ſuche force, to haue ſlayne him, that they were there conſtrained to ſlea hym, or elles he had done them greate hurte. Whoſe body Mago cauſed to be brought to Annball, and he cauſed it to be buried with moche honour.

¶ Centenius Penula and Lucius Fuluius with theyr two armies be diſcomfyted and ſlayne by Anniball in ſeuerall battayles. Cap. xxxviii.

IN THIS meane ſeaſon were the Conſulles entred the fieldes of the Campanes, theyr menne ouerſpreading the countrey, robbynge, ſpoylynge and waſtynge in dyuers places, whiche beinge perceyued, Mago with his horſemen, by the healpe of the townesmen, iſſued oute ſodaynely on theym: and or euer they coulde gather togyther in order of battaile, ſlewe of them one thouſand, and fyue hundred. Which loſſe cauſed the conſuls more circumſpectly to worke in all theyr procedynges afterwarde.

¶ Anniball heryng of this proſperous bataile of the Campanes in his abſence, drew nere vnto Capua with his army, thinkyng that the Romanes ſhulde be moche leſſe able to indure

his power ioyned to the Campanes. Wherfore the third day after his comming, he displayde his baners, and set his company in order and goodly aray, redy to fight. The Romayns likewise made theym redy, and the horsemen on bothe sydes fought strongly for a season, tyll bothe partes perceiued a strange army comming toward them: wherof nother of them were priuie. The truthe therof was, that C. Cornelius, than bearing the office of Questor at Rome, had taken the legiõs, whyche the yere before were vnder Sempronius, and was commyng to the ayde of the consuls. but his commynge vnknowen made as well the consuls affraide, as Annibal: so that as it were by agreement, both partes withdrue to their campes, the Romans hauing somwhat more losse thã the Carthaginẽses. Than the consuls, wylling to draw Annibal away frõ Capua deuised the night folowing to depart awaye. Fuluius with his host, went to distroy the fieldes of the Cumans. Appius with his host went to the Lucanes. Annibal in the morning, hauing knowlege of their sundry departing diuers wais, was a whiles in dout, whether of them he might folow: the last he determined to folowe Appius, wherin he was moche deceiued. For he, leadinge hym a great compasse aboute the countreys, at his pleasure, retourned againe an other way to Capua. Than fortune a whyle smylyng on Annibal, sent hym suche chances, that he was a season stayed in those parties. One was the folishe hardy enterprise of one Centenius Penula, a gentylman of goodly stature of body, and of noble courage of mynde, correspondent to the same.

¶ This Centenius, being broughte into the senate house by P. Cornelius Sulla, desyred of the senatours, that he might haue deliuered him only. v. M. souldiours, with whose helpe he doubted not, but that with the knowlege that he had, both of the countreys and also of the crafty feates of his ennemy, he wold with the same subtiltie and policies deceiue Annibal, by whiche he before had deceiued the Romaynes. This his vnwise promise vnto them, was as vnwisely beleued of them. And where he demaunded but. v. M. they gaue him. viii. M. men: and he in the countreys as he went gathered togyther almoste as many mo, of suche as willyngly went with him, hauing hope in his courage and promise. With this noumbre of men he came into the fieldes of the Lucanes, where Annibal had

had reſted hym and his company, wery of the chaſe of Appius Claudius. Whan either of them ſawe others army, they incontinēt put their folke in aray. The matche was not equall nother of capitaines nor of ſouldiours: neuertheleſſe the bataile indured more than two howres. Centenius perceiuinge his part to ſuffre the worſe, and fearing, leſte if he ſhulde lyue after his men were ſlayne, he ſhulde ſuffer great ſhame and infamy during his lyfe, for the loſſe of ſuche a numbre of men by his foliſhe enterpriſe: at the laſt willingly he entred the thickeſt preaſe of his enemies, where he was ſhortly ſlayne, and than his men fledde on all partes, but they were ſo harde chaſed with horſemen, that of that great company, there eſcaped ſcant one thouſand.

¶ One otherhappy chāce fortune ſent to Annibal, as it were for a farewel or leue takyng of him, before ſhe thought to departe to the Romans: the occaſion therof was, that one Cneiꝰ Fuluius, bearing the office of pretor, lay than in Apulia with his hoſt, beſiegyng ſuche townes as before were come to the amitie of the Carthaginenſis. And in his buſynes he had ſoo well ſped, and was becōme ſo welthy and riche, bothe he and his men, with prayes whiche they had taken, that leauyng all good order of warre, or the peynfull purſuite thereof, they were growen into ſlouthe and ſluggyſhe ydelnes. Of theyr vndiſcrete order the Appulians ſente woorde to Annibal by meſſangers. And he knowing by experience what wolde folowe the gouernance of an army by an vnwiſe capitane, wherof of late he had the triall by Centenius, with ſpede he remoued into the coſtis of Apulia. Whan the Romains had knowlege, that their enemies approched, and were euen at hande: they were all mynded to haue diſplayde their baners, and to haue runne to batail without the cōmandement of their capitain. The night folowing, Annibal perceiuing their great haſt to battaile, cōmanded. iii. M. of his light men of warre, to lye priuily hyd in woodes buſhes & couertes, next adioyning, gyuing them a ſigne or token, at what tyme they ſhulde iſſue out, and aſſaile their enmies. Than cauſed he Mago, with. ii. M. horſemen, to lye priuily in the wayes, by which he demed the Romans wolde flee after theyr diſcomfiture. Theſe thynges in the nyght tyme being wyſely diſpoſed, yarly in the morning he came with his hoſt into the fieldes, putting the reſt of his

men in goodly aray.

¶ On the other side Fuluius the prætor made no tarying, being moche inforced therto by the hasty wilfulnes of his souldiours: Wherfore with suche aduysement as they came into the fielde, with suche lyke aduysement were the batayles ordred. For euery man went to what place him semed best, and chose his cõpany with whom he wold be: and somtyme changed his place again at his pleasure. The forward and the left wing were fyrst ordered, and that all in length, and of a small thykneſſe. The Tribunes cried to them, to set more strength of men in the myddell of their battailes, or els their enemies myght easyly go through them with small force at their pleasure. But they were so wylfull and hasty, that they gaue noo eare to their wordes. By that tyme were the Carthaginenses come in good order redy to ioyne: at whose fyrst cominge with great noise & bruite, the Romains were put to the worse: wherupon the capitayn, seing all lyke to go to mischiefe, toke his horse, and with two hundred horsemen with him, fled. The reste, that abode, were almooste all slayne. for of .xviii. M. of the company, there escaped not past .ii. M. alyue. The tentes and stuffe was also taken by the Carthaginenses, whiche was a good pray. The tydinges of these great sodayn losses were brought to Rome, whiche caused the citie to be in great feare and mournyng. Neuertheleſſe bycause bothe the Consulles, with their armies were safe, and did somwhat prosper in their affayres, they toke the more comforte to theym. And incontynent sent messangers to the Consuls, wylling them to serch for all such as were escaped at these two battailes, & that they shuld be gathered togither, and called vnto them: lest either for feare or for dispaire, they wold yeld them to their enmies, whiche thyng with all diligence they dyd execute.

¶ The citie of Capua is beseged by the two consuls, Anniball cõmeth to the succour of the citezẽs, giueth the cõsuls battel, from thens goth to Rome ward with his host, to thintent therby to draw the cõsuls from the siege of Capua. Ca. xxix.

IN the meane season was Capua compassed & besieged by both the consuls, & great prouision of corne made for the same, & laid in garners in the castel of Casselin⁹ than

Than ſent they to Sueſſula for Claudius Nero the Prætor, who leauyng a ſmall garriſon there, came hym ſelfe to theym to Capua with all his power. Thus was Capua compaſſed with thre greatte armyes on three partes, and to encloſe the citezens the more ſurely, they prepared to compaſſe the hole city with a great diche. And thervpon they made many caſtels a good diſtance thone frō the other. The Cāpanes thinkynge to let their work, iſſued many times & fought with the Romāns but their fortune was euer ſuch, that they loſt ſtill of their mē, and at the laſt were conſtrained to kepe them within the wal= les of their citie. but before the warkes or ſiege was ſo ſtraite and ſtrong, they had ſent ambaſſadours to Annibal, complay= nyng, that he had forſaken theym and his citie of Capua: and that yf he dyd not ſhortly ſuccour them, they muſt yeld them to the Romans. To whom Annibal anſwered, that of late he had reſcued them, and rayſed their ſiege ones, and that short= ly he wolde come to helpe them againe, not doubting, but the Romayns ſhuld be vnable to reſiſt his power at his cōmyng. With this comfortable meſſage they retourned to their citie, whyche they founde ſo compaſſed with a double dyche, that with peyne coulde they fynde the meane to enter into it: nei= ther coulde they haue entred, had not the letters of P. Cor= nelius the prætor bene, wherin he aduyſed the conſuls, before the dyche ſhuld be fully finyſſhed, to proclaime, that as many of the Campanes as wolde iſſue with their baggage and bag= ges, before a day by him lymitted, ſhulde go free where they wold, and haue their goodes their owne. After that day, ſoo many as remained, they wolde take and vſe as their enemies. But this proclamation was ſo diſdainfully taken of the Cam= panes, that beſyde that there wold none iſſue out of the city, they alſo ſpake proude and opprobrious wordes in diſpite of the Romaynes. Whervppon the workes of the dyche were ended, and the citie fully encloſed.

¶ Annibal, deſyrous to ſuccour his great frendes of Capua, left al his heuy cariage among the Brucians, and with a great numbre of choſen horſemen and light fotemen, haſted thither as faſte as he might, and after his hooſte came. xxxii. of his elephantes. With this army he came to the valey that was vnder a mountayn adioynyng to Capua, called Tifata, er the Romans had any knowlege of his cōming. Than ſent he ſpies

to

to the Romayns hoste to Capua, commaundynge them, soo soone as he shulde gyue them battaile on his parte, that Bostar and Mago, with the horsemen and garrison of the Carthaginenses, assemblynge also all the power of the citizens, shoulde sodaynely issue oute of the citie: and with force assayle their ennemies. This diuise of Annball was executed with soo sodayne crye and clamoure, that the Romaynes were in greate feare and daunger. Neuertheles with as great spede as they coulde, they prepared their battayles, and dryuyded their people. Appius Claudius wente to withstande the Campanes, and Fuluius wente agaynste Annball. Claudius was stronge inough for his ennemies, but Fuluius was hardly handled of the Carthaginenses and Spaniardes. One cõpany or legion of his men were driuen backe, and than a great companye of Spanyardes, with thre elephantes, had broken the myddell warde of the Romaynes, and were come to the trench of the campe, redy to enter into the tentes and campe of their enmies. Whan Fuluius sawe, what daunger his people and campe were in, he cried to M. Nanius, and other petty capitaines, exhorting them to assaile that company of Spaniardes, that fought at the diche: shewyng them what danger all was in, onlesse they might sone be confounded, which was easy inough to be done, sens there was of them no greatter a number. Nanius was a strong man, and of a huge stature. And whan he hearde the consulles exhortation, anone he toke the standerde from hym that bare it, and commaundyng his company, boldly to take parte with hym, he sette furthe towarde the Spanyardes, with a great courage. As sone as the Spaniardes sawe hym drawe nere, they threwe plentye of dartes at hym; and beganne violently to assayle him. But he nother beynge stayde with the multitude of his ennemies, nor with the dartes that were caste at him, with great force went stylle forwarde, tyl by the helpe of Marcus Attilius, Portius Lucius, and other, they had slain the elephantes, and made great slaughter also of Spaniardes.

¶ On the other part, the Campanes were dryuen back, with the garrison alsoo of Numidians and Carthaginenses: soo that the battaile was stronge euen at the very gate of Capua, that was towarde the ryuer of Vulturnus. This gate was garnished with Crossebowes dartes and other suche ingyns, wherby

wherby many of the Romayns were wounded by the ſhot out of the towre of the gate. Amonge other, the Conſul Appius Claudius was ſoore hurt on the breaſt vnder the left ſhulder. Neuertheleſſe the citizens with their helpers were driuen into the citie with great ſlaughter and loſſe of theyr company. Annibal ſeing the ſlaughter of his Spaniardes, and that the Romaynes ſo manfully defended theyr campes, he cauſed his people to withdrawe them, and made the horſemen to abyde hyndermoſte for the defence of the footemen, yf their ennemies happed to chaſe them. The Romaines were very egre, and wolde haue folowed them in the chaſe, had not Flaccus cauſed to ſounde the retreate.

¶ In this batayle Annibal wrought one crafty poynt, he ſent dyuers of his men forth, that coulde ſpeake the latine tunge, into dyuers partes of the hooſte of the Romaynes, whyche ſhulde in the conſuls name and behalfe declare, that the Romayne campes were taken and ſpoyled. Wherfore he wylled euery man to ſaue hym ſelfe by fleing to the next mountayns, ſens by lenger tarying, the greatter ſhuld be theyr loſſe. This crafty deceite made many of them amaſed: but at the laſte it was eſpied, to the great ſlaughter of their ennemies.

¶ After this battaile the Romaynes kept them in their campes, and ſo ſtraightly beſieged the citie, that Annibal ſeinge he could no more drawe them furth to batayle, nother through the campes of the Romaines haue any way to enter into Capua, fearyng leſte his vitayles ſhuld be cut from hym and his hoſte: he determined to depart from thens. And than he ymagyned, that he wolde go towarde Rome, not doubtynge, but whan the Romayn capitaynes dyd perceyue Rome theyr head citie to be in any daunger, that either one or both wolde leaue Capua, and come to the defence therof. And than theyr powers being diuided, bothe partes ſhoulde be the weaker: and he truſted, that either he or the Campanes ſhulde haue a fayre day of ſome of them. One thynge troubled hym ſoore, leſt the Campanas ſeing his departyng from them, wolde incontinent yelde the citie to the Romayns. Wherfore by fayre wordes and great giftes, he had gotten one of Numidia to go with his letters through the campes of the Romains, as one that was runne away from the Carthaginenſes army: & whan

he shuld come to the further part of the host towarde the cī-
tie, than secretly to enter into Capua, and deliuer his letters,
which were full of comfort, declaring his departyng to be for
theyr profite, to thintent onely to withdrawe their ennemies
from Capua, to defende their owne citie, bydding them not to
dispayre, but to take pacience for a season, trustyng shortly to
lose them. of the daunger they were in. Sone after he depar-
ted with his hoste, and passed the ryuer of Vulturnus, taking
the way towarde Rome. This commynge caused great heuy-
nes in the citie. The senatours consulted, what was beste for
to be done in this daungerous case. At lengthe it was agreed,
that Q. Fuluius shulde come from Capua, with a certayn le-
gions with him, leauing his felowe at the siege with a numbre
sufficient for that purpose. Q. Fuluius, hauing this cōmande-
ment, toke with him. xv. M. fotemen, and one thousand horse
men, and folowed Annibal as spedily as he could. Now was
Annibal come within. iii. miles of Rome, where he pitched
his tentes, and made his campe on a riuer side. And soone af-
ter came Quintus Fuluius Flaccus into Rome with his ar-
my, and consulted with the senators of the affaires that were
to be done touchyng their enmies. Than toke Annibal. ii. M.
horsemen with hym, and camme to the walles and gates of
Rome, riding from the gate called Porta Collina, to the tem-
ple of Hercules, viewynge the situation of the citie, and the
strength of the walles. This bolde and hygh mynde of An-
niball, in so doing, Fuluius Flaccus coulde not suffer: but in-
continent sent furth a greate numbre of horsemen, who with
force droue their enemies to their campe. The next day An-
niball came into the fielde with his host in goodaray, redy to
gyue battaile. And Flaccus haunge with hym the two newe
consuls, that of late were chosen, with their powers, made
hym redy also to battaile. Thus whan bothe partes were re-
dy to go togither, abidynge the chaunce of fortune, whether
of them shulde be maister of the noble citie of Rome: there
came sodainly on them so vehement a storme of raine and haile
togither, that both the partes were faine to withdrawe them
to their Campes. The nexte daye they were lykewise redya
to ioyne battaile, whan a like storme also departed theym a-
gayne. And after theyr departure incontynente the wether
waxed verye bryght and fayre, and all the wyndes ceassed,

whiche

whiche euyl chances toke away the hartes and courage from Anniball and his companye, for euer to enioye the citie of Rome. Wherfore hauynge no further hope therof, he returned backe in haſt to the Brucians: And the conſul Quintus Fuluius returned to Capua to his felowe.

¶ The oration of Vibius Virius concerning the yeldyng of Capua, the Romaines receyue the towne, ſlea the ſenatours, and conuerte the groundes therof to the profit of their city of Rome. Cap. xi.

The Campanes perceyuing the returne of Quintus Fuluius, and not of Annibal, iuged them ſelfes than to be vtterly forſaken of him. Wherfore wepyng and mourning the noble men kept them in their houſes, loking dayly for their owne deathes, and diſtruction of the citie. The hole charge of the keping therof was in Boſtar and Hanno, captains of the garriſon of the Carthaginenſes. They fering their own eſtate, ſent priuily letters to Anniball, ſomewhat ſharply written, wherin they blamed hym, not onely for leauyng the citie of Capua to the handes of the Romaines: but alſo that he, committing his capituynes and his ſure frendes and ſouldiours of his retinue into the handes of his enemies, to ſuffre tourmentes intollerable, was hym ſelfe gone to the Brucians, bycauſe he wolde not ſee before hym the takynge of Capua. Wherfore they ſaide, in caſe he wolde come agayn to them, and returne his hole power thither, they with the hole power of Capua, wold be redy to breake forthe on theyr ennemyes, truſting to wynne therby moche honour. They ſayde alſo, that his commyng ouer the mountaines was not to warre with the Rhegines, or with the Tarentines, but with the Romaynes: and where the Romain legions were, there ſhuld the army of the Carthaginenſes alſo be. And ſo dounge, he had for the moſte part euer good ſpede, as at Cannas, at Traſymenus, & diuers other places, by giuing them batayle valiantly.

¶ Theſe letters were ſent by one of Numidia, an eſpye, that counterfaited him ſelf to be run from the Carthaginenſes army for the hũger that daily oppreſſed the citie. Other letters alſo of the ſame effect, were ſent by dyuers other Numidians,

but it chaunced, that a woman, whome one of the messangers had kepte as his harlotte, feelyng greate hunger in the cytie, ranne out of the towne into the tentes of the Romain consull Flaccus, and declared vnto hym of suche an espy, that was in his campe, whiche had letters to conueye to Annibal. This man was founde oute. And whan he came before her, hedenyed any parte of her accusation to be trewe: he denied also, that he knewe the woman. But whanne he sawe tourmentes prepared for hym, he confessed the hole truthe, and also he confessed, that many other of his facion were among the Romayns, who wayted but theyr tyme, whan they might escape from the Romayn hoste with lyke letters to Annibal. Therupon serche was made, and aboue. lxx. of theym taken: who were beaten fyrst with roddes, and than hadde theyr handes striken of, and were sent again into the citie, to their captains.

¶ Whan the capitayns sawe that extreme punyshement shewed to theyr messangers, theyr hartes began to fayle them. Wherupon Lesius that yererular of the citie, called a generall counsayle: In the whyche many of the senatours moued, that ambassadours shulde be sent to the Romayn consuls: but Uibius Uirius, who was the chiefe causer of the yeldyng of Capua to Annibal, beynge demaunded of his opinyon therin, aunswered, that all they that spake of peace takyng, or of the yeldyng of Capua, ought to remembre, bothe what they wolde haue done, yf they had had the Romayns in theyr power, in lyke case as they had them, and also what the Campanes were lyke to suffer, whan they were submitted wholly to theyr pleasure.

¶ Lette vs (sayde he) remembre, howe leauing theyr frendshyp, we submytted vs to Annibal: and not contented therwith, we slewe all the Romaynes lefte here in garrison with vs. And to haue the certayne knowlege of theyr hartes and enuy towarde vs, lette vs call before vs theyr actes done of late agaynst vs, and therby ye shall perceyue, what kyndnes we are lyke to haue at theyr handes. Annibal a straunger, and theyr vtter enemy being in Italy, and the cuntrey on all partes fulfylled with warre: yet they leauyng Annibal, and all other theyr busyneſſe, sente bothe the consulles with theyr whole armyes, to besiege Capua, where we by longe contynuall kepyng of the same siege, are almost famished with hunger

ger. but for further proſe of theyr malyce towarde vs, let vs conſyder, that although Anniball commyng to our ſuccours, had almoſte wonne theyr campes, layne many of theyr men, and put them in great ieopardy of loſing all that they had: yet all that ieoperdous peryll of loſſe neuer coulde moue theym to remoue theyr ſiege. Afterward whan he had paſſed the riuer of Vulturnus, bournynge the fieldes of Calenus theyr fath full frendes: yet coulde not the hurtes of them call the capitaynes from our myſerable ſiege. Ye than he cauſed his baners to be diſplayd before the walles of the citie of Rome, ſaying: that onles they wold leaue Capua, he wold take their high citie of Rome from them. Yet wolde they not leaue the ſiege of Capua, beares, wulues, and all wyld beaſtes, be they in neuer ſo great a rage and fury, if a man goo to their caues, where theyr yong whelpes lye: anone they wyll leaue al that they are aboute, and runne ſtreighte to the defence of theyr yonge: but the furyous Romaynes, whan Rome was compaſſed about with theyr enemies, nother for theyr wyues and their chyldren (whoſe lamentable wepinges myght be heard almoſte hither) nother for their houſes, the temples of their goddis, nor for feare of violating the Sepultures of theyr auncetours, coulde be withdrawen from the ſiege of Capua, ſo deſyrous they be to execute on vs greuous punyſhement: And ſo ſore they do thyrſt to drynke of our bludde. And but reaſon: for happily we ſhulde haue done lykewyſe to them, yf fortune haddeſerued vs. Wherfore ſens it is the pleaſure of the goddis, that nedes I muſte dye: yet wylle I chuſe me a deathe, bothe honeſt and gentyll: wherby I wyll eſcape the tormentes and diſpites that myne ennemies truſte to put me vnto. Whan Fuluius and Claudius ſhall ſolempnely with triumph enter into Rome, I wyl not bounden be drawen before them as a ſpectacle or wondryng ſtocke, and after put in pryſon, or being tyed to a poſte, ſuffer my body to be ſcourged, and at laſt haue my head ſtryken from my body with the axe of Rome, nother will I lyue to ſe my cuntrey diſtroied & bourned, or to ſee the noble matrons and maidens of Capua rauiſhed and defouled. In the beginnyng of the flouriſhynge of the citie of Rome, the Romains diſtroyed the citie of Alba, and threwe it downe to the grounde: yet had they theyr originall from the ſame citie, what trowe ye than they wyl do

to Capua, whiche they hate more than they doo Carthage? Therfore frendes, so many of you as be desyrous to dye, before ye se these so many and so spiteful miseries, come this day to dyner with me, your meate is alredy dressed: and whā we be well filled with wyne and good meates, a cup of drynke, that I wyll fyrst drinke my selfe, shall be borne about to euery one of you: and that drynke shall delyuer the body from tormentes, the mynde from rebukes, the eies and the eares frō the syght and hearyng of all cruell dispites that be prepared for people that are ouercome. After whan we shall be deade, our seruauntes shall be redy to throwe our bodies into great fyres made for the purpose, there to be bourned, and so shall we neuer come into the handes of our enemies. This is the onely honest and free way to dye, wherby our ennemies shall meruaile and wonder at our noble courage. And Annibal shal therby well perceyue, that he hath forsaken and betrayde his valyant and faithfull felowes.

¶ This oration of Uibius was heard and wel alowed of many mo than had hartes to folowe it, or put it in execution. for the more part of the senatours said, that they had oft tymes in warres had experience of the pitie and gentylnesse of the Romaines shewed to their ennemies in suche extremitie, not mystrustyng, but they shulde fynde them mercyfull nowe to them, vpon humble request to them made: and therupon determined to send legatis to the cōsul, to yeld them vp Capua.

¶ Uibius Uirius went home to his house to dyner, whome xxvii. senatours folowed, where they dyned, and drunke plēty of wyne, to the intent they might haue the lesse feelinge of the last dredefull drynke whan it came. At the last they all receiued the poyson, and went from the table, taking eyther other by the handes, and louingly embrasyng one an other, lamented their owne deathes, with the distruction of the cuntrey. Some remained there, and died, and were bourned in the fyres made for that intent: some went home to their houses, and there made their ende: so that before the towne was deliuered to the Romaines, none of them were left on lyue.

¶ The next day the gates were opened, and the Romaines suffered to enter. Than were all the gates kepte by the Romains, that no man shuld go furth, and first all the armour and wepons were brought to the Romain capitain: than were the

Car-

Carthaginenſes of the garriſon taken and put in priſon. The ſenatours were cõmanded to go to the conſuls, than being in their tentes, from whens ſuch as were moſt conſenting to the receiuig of Annibal, were ſent to ſũdry priſons. xxv. to Cales, and. xxviii. to Theanus, vntil it was agreed, what puniſhment they ſhuld haue. Their golde and ſyluer was brought in, and deliuered to the officers, called Queſtores. Claudius the cõſull was moch inclined to take the ſenators to mercy: Fuluius on the other ſide wold haue them ſuffer, in example of other rebelles and traytours. Wherefore Claudius remitted all thing to the iugement of the ſenate of Rome, and ſent thither to knowe their pleaſure therin. Whervpon Fuluius, fearing leſt he ſhuld be ſtayed of his purpoſe, cõmanded the tribunes, with. ii. M. horſemen, to be redy to ride with him at the third blaſt of a trumpet. With this cõpany of horſmen in the night he departed from the army, and by that it was day light, came to Theanus, where cauſyng the ſenatours of Capua, there being priſoners, to be brought before him, incontinent he cauſed them to be violently ſcourged with roddes, and after to haue their heades ſtriken of. From thens, as faſt as he might he hied to Cales, and there likewiſe ſat vpon the iugement of the other ſenatours of Capua. but whiles they were going to execution, one came from the ſenate of Rome, riding in great haſt, with letters, willing him to ſtay the iudgement and execution of the puniſhment of the Cãpane ſenators. Than Fuluius iudging the letters to be writen for that intent, neuer diſcloſed them, but put them in his boſom, ſaying to the officers that they ſhuld procede quickly to the execution accordinge to the lawe: So were they alſo whipped, and after had their heades ſtryken of. Than the conſull drewe furth his letters, and redde them, ſaying they came very late, to let the thynge that was alredy done. From Cales he returned to Capua and there put diuers other in priſon, beſide many of the citie that were ſold. Thã was there great debate in the ſenate at Rome whether the citie of Capua ſhuld be burned and vtterly deſtroyed, in exaumple of other rebelles or not. Moch it moued theym ſoo to doo, for that it was a greate and a ſtronge citie, and a very nere neyghbour vnto them: whych if it ſhuld be an ennemy agayne to Rome, as it late was, ſhould greatlye dyſquiete the Romaynes. Neuertheleſſe in concluſyon,

conſy-

considering the fertilitie of the grounde, whiche was the best of all Italy, they agreed to vse it to their profit, hauing plowmen labozers & other to manure and tyl the grounds, and the houses to be inhabited with rude people, and menne of handy craftes: so that it shuld be a citie of no body politike, noz haue senatours, oz other commune counsell oz rulars, but onely a iudge yerely to be sent from Rome, to minister iustice among them. By this meane was the citie preserued from vtter destruction, and the profite therof, with the fieldes adioyning, employed to the common profite of the Romains.

¶ Marcellus wynneth the citie of Syracusa in Sicilia. P. Scipio, and Cneius Scipio are slayne in Spayn, with a great numbze of Romaines. Cap. xii.

During the busines of Capua, and the warres about the same, fortune also fauoured the Romaines touching their affaires in Sicilia. For Marcellus, capitayne of the Romaines army there, so wisely & circūspectly gouerned himself and his people, that he wan the noble city of Syracusa. In whiche he had abundance of riches, as great as if he had taken the great citie of Carthage, with whyche (it was thought) in all thinges it might well as than haue ben compared. In the ende of the yere, whan the time of choosing of newe consuls was come, Marcus Marcellus, for his wel proued experience, was chosen consull, & appointed to match Anniball concerning the warres of Italy. And Marcus Valerius Leuinus was elect the other consull: to whom thende of the warres of Sicilia were wholly cōmitted: who by his industry, and by the treason of certaine Numidians, wan the towne of Agrigentum, wherby he droue Hanno, Epicides, and all the army of Carthage out of Sicilia: and soone after brought the hole cuntrey into the subiection of the Romans.

¶ While the warres of Sicilia & about Capua were brought to this good passe, Cn. Scipio and Publius his brother, were as busy in Spayne, but not with like successe. They had cōsailed togither, the sommer folowing, so to folow the warres, that the Carthaginenses shuld be cleane driuen out of Spain. And to be stronge inough therfore, they hyred. xxx. thousand men

men of warre of Celtiberia. The power of Carthage was diuided in. iii. armies, gouerned by thre capitaines, Aſdruball, the ſonne of Gyſgon, and Mago, theſe two capitaines lay. v. dayes iourney from the Romaine legions: the thyrd, whiche was Aſdruball, the ſonne of Amilcar, the auncient capitayne of the Carthaginenſes in that countreye, laye at Amiturgium, more neereynto the Romaines: and hadde in pourpoſe the ſommer folowynge, to paſſe the mountaynes, to conueye his armye to Annibal. This his pourpoſe to lette, the two Scipios thought fyrſte to aſſayle hym aloone from his company, not doubtyng, but they were ſtronge inough ſo to doo. Their greatteſt feare was, leſt whan they had ouercome him, that the other Hasdruball and Mago, hearyng therof, wolde flee into the mountaynes and ſtraytes with their power, and ſo prolonge the warres in Spayn. Wherfore to make an ende of all theyr trouble at ones, they concluded to part their armies in twayne, P. Cornelius with two partes ſhulde goo agaynſt the two capitaines that lay togither. And Cn. Scipio with the thyrde part of theyr olde army, and with the Celtiberians ſhulde aſſaile the other Aſdruball, the ſonne of Amilcar. With theſe mindes they ſet furth togither toward their ennemies. Cn. Scipio whan he came to Amiturgium, reſted with his company in the ſyght of his enemies, hauyng a riuer betwene hym and them: his brother went furthe, as it was agreed betwene them. Aſdruball perceiuing the numbre of the Romayns to be but ſmall: and that all their ſtrengthe was in ſtrangers late hyred, knowing the faccion of the people, how vntrue and vnſtable they were: by the meane of Spaniardes, that coulde ſpeake the language, for great ſummes of money he corrupted the princis & rulars of them: ſo that they were agreed to departe home with theyr hole power. They were not deſyred or hyred to vndertake the warres with Aſdrubal againſt the Romaines, but onely to depart without fighting. Wherynto they were ſone intreated, partly for that they had as large wages as though they ſhuld haue foughten: And agayne for that they were gladde to retourne home to theyr cuntreys and frendes, auoyding the danger of warre. Therfore ſodaynely they with their baners and carryage departed. The Romaines meruayling what this ſodaine chaunge ment, enquired of them the cauſe of their departure. They anſwe-

red, they were sent for home to defende theyr owne cuntrey whiche was oppressed also with warre. Other answere could they none gette: nother were the Romaynes able to kepe them with force. Scipio knowyng, that without theym he was nothynge able to encounter Asdruball, and also seynge no waye howe he myghte recouer the companye of his brother: his ennemies beinge soo nere, and commynge on hym, was meruaylously astonied: yet he thought beste, in no wyse to meete with hym on euen grounde, he was soo farre ouermatched. Wherfore a lyttell and a lyttell he withdrewe him backe, sekyng some place of strength, where he myghte succour hym selfe and his small company. That perceiuing Hasdruball passed the ryuer with his hooste, and folowed after, with as moche speede as he could.

¶ Nowe was P. Scipio his brother as moche troubled on his parte, by reason of Massanissa, a yong lusty prince of Numidia, who beinge than a frende to the Carthaginenses, was comme with a good power of Numidians to the succour of Mago and Hasdruball the sonne of Bysgon, he was fiers and of a greatte courage, the Romaynes coulde nother goo abrode for vitayles, woode, or suche necessaries, but he with his Numidians was euer redy to oppresse them: and dyuers tymes in the nyght he wolde assayle theym in theyr campe, as people that were besieged. There was also tydinges brought to Scipio, that one Indibilis, with seuen thousande, and fyue hundred Süessanes, was at hande, commynge to the healpe of the Carthaginenses: whose army beinge ioyned to the other, he knewe he shulde be more straightly enclosed. Wherfore, compelled by necessitie to serche the compasse of his wytte, he determyned secretely to take the greatter part of his armye to meete with this Indibilis in the nyghte, intendynge, where soo euer he mette with hym, to gyue hym battaylle, he lefte Titus Fonteius, with a certayne with hym, to keepe the campe. And goynge on his waye aboute mydnyght he met with Indibilis and sodaynly assayled hym. There was a fyerse conflycte for a season: And by the sodayne settynge on theym, the Romaynes hadde putte theym to flyghte with greatte slaughter, hadde not the Numidian horsemenne, who alwayes awayted on the Romayns

maynes where ſoo euer they wente) on bothe partes ſo= deynly aſſayled theym: yet Scipio ſoo pryuily was in the nyght departed, that he hadde thought therby to haue be= giled the Numidians watchemen. Than the battail being re= nued agayn, Mago and Aſdruball with their hoſtes folowing after, were at theyr backes: ſo that the Romaynes knew not to whiche were beſt to tourne them. Scipio ſtille comforted and exhorted his men, and euer where the battaile was moſte ſtronge, thyther went he lyke a noble and valiant gouernour, tyll at the laſt hym ſelfe was thyrſt into the ryght ſyde with a ſpeare, ſo that he fell dead from his hors. When the Carthā= ginenſes ſawe the Romayne capitayne falle, incontinent they ranne abrode in all the partes of the fielde ioyfully cryinge, Scipio the capitayne of the Romaines is ſlayne. The fame wherof gaue hart to the Carthaginenſes, and cauſed the Ro= maynes to flee. but in the fyght there were mo ſlayne than in the batail. The Numidian horſmen were ſo fierſe in the chaſe, and the footemen hauyng lyght harneis were almoſt as ſwyft as the horſes. So that yf the nyght had not come on theym, fewe or none had eſcaped. The Carthaginenſes after this vi= ctory ſlept not nor ſtayde, but to folowe theyr good occaſy= on offered, incontinent toke theyr horſes, and went to the o= ther Haſdruball, the ſonne of Amilcar, not doutyng of good ſpede there alſo. After that both theyr powers were mette togyther, there was great ioye made betweene the capitey= nes bothe for theyr metynge, and alſo for the newes of theyr late victory.

¶ On the other ſyde the Romayns were ſtryken with feare= ful penſifenes, not for any knowlege that they had of the loſſe of their company, for there was ſuch ſpede made by theyr en= nemies, that worde thereof coulde not ſo ſoone be broughte them: but their feare was as it were through an inwarde and ſecrete iudgement in theyr hartes, of ſomme euyll chaunce that was happed vnto theym. Agayne Cn. Scipio ſeing the hoſte of his ennemyes encreaſed, by the commynge of Ma= go and Aſdruball, meruailed howe they ſhulde conuey theyr armye thyther ſo ſoone without battayle, onleſſe his brother were ſlayne. He meruayled alſoo, that his brother, nother dydde lette their commynge thyther, nother yet dydde ap= pere folowynge theym. For he knewe, yf he were on lyue,

he wolde make haſte to come and ioyne his army vnto his. In this great trouble of mynde, he thoughte to withdrawe hym as moche as he myght. Wherefore in the nyght he was gone a good ſpace of grounde, but in the dawnyng of the daye, the Numidians were ware of their departing, and folowed with their horſes, ſo that long before nyght they ouertoke theym, aſſayling them now on the one ſide, now on the other, and ſom tyme behynde them: but euer Scipio cauſed theym to keepe good aray, and to go euer forewarde in their fightynge, to be out of the daunger of the footemen of their enemies that folowed them: but the horſemen ſo vexed them on all partes, that they could not go farre. Wherfore Scipio gathered his ſmall company vp to a lytell hyll, the beſt that he coulde there eſpy for his aduãtage. There he toke this order. theyr ſtuffe and cariage was brought into the myddell of the hoſt, and the horſemen ſette about the ſame: without them were the foote men, who ſaued the other from the inuaſion of the Numidian horſemen, tyl the reſt of the Carthaginenſes were come. But than Scipio ſeing hym ſelfe ſo vnable to reſiſt. iii. capitaynes and their great hoſtes, began to diuiſe, howe he might by any meanes caſt a trenche about his campe, or make ſome hedge to defende them from the inuaſions of theyr enemies: but thã was the hyll ſo bare, and the grounde ſo ſtony, that no buſhes or thornes coulde there be gathered, nor turues dygged, or any trenche made: and the hyll it ſelfe was ſo flatte, that they coulde by no maner of way let the commyng vp of their enemies. Than Scipio to make ſome ſhewe of a defence aboute the campe, deuiſed to lay his packes and groſſe cariage in cõpaſſe of the campe one vpon an other, and thervppon he cauſed the packſaddels and other fardels to be tyed: wherby he rayſed the walles of his campe of a good height.

¶ When the hoſtes of the Carthaginenſes were come, they aſcended that ſmall hyll with lyttel peyne: but than ſeing that ſtraunge kynde of fortifieng the campe, which they had neuer before ſene, they were amaſed, and ſtayde for a ſeaſon. The capitaynes perceiuyng theyr ſodayne ſtoppe and wondryng, cried on al partes to them, ſaying, that it was great ſhame for them to be ſo longe or they coulde plucke downe and deface ſuche a fond deuiſe and mockery, wherwith children and women wold not ſo long haue ben ſtayed. Go to it therfore with

courage

courage (ſayd they) for your ennemies lye lurkyng behynde thoſe packes. With theſe rebukes of the capitaines, they aſſayed to enter on all partes. And though a greate whyle they were lette and troubled therabout, at the laſt in diuers partis they entred, ſo few in numbre could no longer endure againſt ſo many. The campe was wonne, and many were ſlain, whereof Cn. Scipio the noble capitayne was one, a good number fledde into the woodes, that were next vnto them, and ſo eſcaped, and came into the tentes of Publius Scipio, whyche than were kept by T. Fonteius. Thus were bothe the bretherne and capytaynes of the Romaynes in Spayne, ſlayne within the ſpace of. xxx. dayes: whoſe death was greatly lamented, both at Rome and alſo in Spain. And it was thought at their death, that the hole army of the Romaines in Spayn was vtterly brought to confuſyon, and that countrey thereby brought out of the Romaynes handes.

C L. Martius is choſen capitaine of the Romaine army, he maketh an oration to his ſouldiours, and in one nyghte and a day vanquiſheth. ii. hoſtes of Carthaginenſes, winneth their campes, and a greate pray. Capit. xlii.

IN all this peryll and ieoperdous eſtate, one man was founde in the army, by whoſe witte courage and fortune the honour and welthe of the Romaynes was ſaued and reſtored. And that was Lucius Martius, the ſonne of Septimius, a freſhe yonge man and an actiue. This Martius hadde longe ben in the warres vnder C. Scipio, and of hym had learned moche experience and policy in the gouernance of an army. And nowe, ſeing all thinges almoſte deſperate, he gathered togither ſuch ſouldiours, as by fleing were eſcaped from the laſt batayle, and alſo aſſembled a good numbre of men of warre out of dyuers townes and fortreſſes, whiche were vnder the obedience of Rome. With all theſe he came to the tentes of T. Fonteius, ioynyng all the Romaines power togither, and in ſhort ſpace his name and honour was ſo exalted, that by the whole conſent of the ſouldyours of the army, he was choſen to be their capitayne and guyde. Whervpon he incontinent applied hym

selfe busyly to make sure theyr campe, and also to make good prouisyon for vitayles of all sortes. To whose pleasure and commaundement all the men of the hoste gladly obeyed: Neuertheless, whan they hearde, that Hasdruball the sonne of Gysgon, was at hande with his army, myndynge to dystroye vtterly all the Romaynes that were lefte: and also whan they sawe theyr newe capitayne, makynge redy his people, and auauncyng his standerdes: they than remembryng theyr olde noble capytaines, and the great power, wherwith they were wont to go to all batayles, coulde not forbeare to wepe and lament theyr myshappe, in suche wyse, that nother theyr pety capitaynes, nor yet Martius hym selfe, myght appease them: yet dyd they sometime rebuke theyr feminne and vnprofitable wepinges, sometyme styrre them to defende themselues and their countrey, and also to reuenge the deathe of theyr olde noble capitaynes of late slayne. Whyle they thus were spendyng the tyme vnprofytably, theyr ennemies were at hande, and redye to assaile them, and to enter into their campes, but than the Romaines, tournyng their teares to a furious rage, in haste toke their armure and weapons, and not only defended the entries of their campe, but also issued out fiersely, and ranne on their ennemies, whiche kepte no very good aray, so littell they mystrusted any such resistence. This sodayne issuing out of them caused the Carthaginenses to be striken with a feare, and also to meruaile, howe the Romaine hoste was so shortly encreased, whiche so late was almooste wholly slayn and put to vtterance. They mused also of their sodayne courage and hardynesse, and what newe capytaine they myght haue to truste on, the two Scipios beinge slaine. In that feare and dout they beganne somwhat to giue backe, and than the Romaines folowed vppon them, soo that they were constrayned to flee, and in that flyght many of them hadde bene slayne, or elles the folowers hadde bene putte to greatte hurte and dysplesure, by theyr faste pursuite, hadde not Martius hym selfe sounde the retreate, and halfe agaynste theyr wylles stayed theym frome the chase, and broughte theym backe to theyr tentes, beynge styll hotte, fyerse, and desyrous, by slaughter to reuenge theym on their enemmies. The Carthaginenses stedde faste for a season: but at the laste, seynge noo manne to folowe them, thought

that

that they for fe are durſte noo longer purſue theym. Wherefore they made noo more ſuche haſte, but wente ſoftely to theyr campe, and whanne they were come thither, they alſo regarded not greatly the good watche and kepynge therof, but lefte all thinges negligently and vnſurely, nothynge myſtruſting their ennemies that were at hande, for that they demed them to be but the remenaunt and leauynges of two hoſtes lately beaten, nowe beynge gathered togyther again. This neglygence of the Carthaginenſes was knowen to Martius by eſpies. Wherefore he (at the fyrſte apparance) ſemed rather raſſhely than boldly to enterpryſe the night folowinge to inuade theym in theyr tentes and fielde, thinking it more eaſye for him to wynne the campe of Haſdruball alone, beinge ſodainly taken and vnprouided, than he ſhoulde be able to defende his owne campe and fielde, if he taried tyll the. iii. capitaines of the Carthaginenſes, and theyr armies, were ioyned togither agayne, Neuertheleſſe before he wold ſodainly and in the night time enterpriſe ſo high a feate, he thought fyrſt to make his companye priuie therof, and alſo to make vnto them an oration, whiche he began in this wiſe. ¶The greatte loue that I haue euer borne vnto oure good capytaynes (louynge ſouldiours) as welle whan they were on lyue, as alſo nowe they are deade, and our preſente fortune at this tyme is ſufficient to perſwade any man, that this greatte authoritie and rule, which of your goodnes, ye haue gyuen me, is both weighty and full of care and troubles. For although my mynde be ſore troubled and diſquieted, that it can almoſte at no tyme fynde any comfort or conſolation, but onely whan feare dryueth away the ſorowes therof: yet in my dolour, I onely am conſtrayned to comforte and relieue you all of your ſorowes. Neyther whan I am deuyſynge, by what meanes I may ſaue and preſerue the leauynges of the two Romaines hoſtes, for the wealthe of the countrey, can I at any tyme be quitte and ridde of my ſorowes. For euen thanne the two Scipios bothe by daye and by nyghte, doo vexe and trouble me: ſommetyme in dreames they appeere vnto me, and many tymes they awake me out of my ſlepes, cõmanding me, not to leaue them, nor yet their noble ſouldiours your cõpanions, nor the cõmon welth vnreuenged. And for that intent, they will me to folow the rules and diſcipline,

that

that they haue taught me: And as (whiles they were lyuing) there was no man more obedient to their commandement thā I was: so lykewyse, now they ar departed, I shall always be as glad to do that thyng, which I do suppose they wold haue done, yf they were here with vs lyuing. And I wold ye shuld not thynke it best (worthy warriours) to mourne and weepe for theym, as though they were cleane deade, sens they lyue perpetually through the noble fame of their honorable actes: but whan so euer ye shall, going to battayle, remembre any of them, I wolde haue you so valiantly fight, as though ye sawe them setting furthe before you with baners displayde, and exhortyng you to wyn honour. Such an imagination caused you yesterday so manfully to vanquysshe and put to flyght youre enemies. Wherfore I am moche desyrous to proue, whether you, that were so hardy for your owne pleasure, dare now vndertake as moche at the desyre and exhortation of me youre capitayne. For yesterday, whan I called you backe from the chase of your enmies, I dyd it not to plucke downe your stomakes, or to quench your noble courage: but only to deferre the same to your more and greatter honour, and also better oportunitie: to the intente that you beinge prepared therfore, may assayle theym vnpurueyde for the same, that you armed, may take them vnarmed and a slepe. Our enemies thinke nothyng lesse, than to beinuaded of vs in their campe, whome they accompt as people besieged within our owne campe, let vs nowe therfore enterpryse that, whiche no man will thinke, that we dare enterpryse. And that shall be founde moste easy, that semed moste harde to be compassed: I my selfe wyll be your guide in the dead of the night, and leade you so secretly, and with suche silence, that we wyll be within theyr campe, er they shalbe ware of our comming. I am ascertained, that they kepe no watche nor order. Their campe shall we wyn at the fyrst brunt.: And than let me see you make the slaughter amonge them, that you intended yesterday to haue made, whā against your wylles I called you back frō the pursuit of thē: wherwith ye were than very angry. This enterpryse I know to be very great and hardy: but in suche necessitie suche coūsels are best. For whan occasion is offred, and oportunitie serueth, it muste be taken: or els it wyll flee away without recouerie. One of theyr armies is here at hande, and two other

are

are not farre hense. Nowe yf we assayle this one hoste, there may we fynde oportunitie and haue some equall matche. Ye haue alredy yesterday assayed bothe your owne strength and theyrs: but in case we delay it, beinge contented with yesterdays honour, it is ieoperdy, lest all the capitayns, with their powers come togither: and than howe shall we be able to sustein the power of thre armies with their gouernours, whom Cn. Scipio, with his army was not able to withstand? as by diuyding their hostes our two noble capitaynes were slayne: lykewyse our enemies beinge diuided & seuered, may by vs be oppressed. Other way is there none for vs to take nowe: but only to loke for the oportunitie of this next night. Wherfore in the name of the goddis go ye now to your restes, and cherishe your bodies, that whan I call on you, you being strong and lusty, maye enter into the campe of your ennemies, with the same hertes and courage, that of late ye defended your owne Campe.

¶ This newe counsaile of the newe capitayn was wel heard, and so moche the more ioyfully receiued, by howe moche the acte semed to be more bolde and hardy. Wherfore they prepared all thynges in a redynesse for the departure, and rested them selues the rest of the day, and a good part of the night. Than Martius caused them to be called vp, and sette theym secretely on the way forwarde, aboute thre of the clocke after mydnyght. Than was there an other armye of the Carthaginenses seuen myles beyonde the campe of Hasdruball, the sonne of Syrgon, and in the myddes of that waye there was a holowe valeye, and therin a lyttell woode. Into this woode had Martius sent an embushement of Romaine horsemen, to receyue suche as fledde frome the fyrste campe, and wolde escape to the other. And whan he demed the said embushement to be come thither, he with the rest of his compayny, went to the next campe, where fynding no watche nor resistence, they entred the tentes as easily as they might haue done into theyr owne. Than sodainly they blew vp their trumpettes, and made great clamour and noyse: some slewe their ennemies slepyng, some set the tentes on fyre, many kept the entre or gates of the campe, that none shulde issue out. Thus with sodayne noyse, fyre, and slaughter, the other were so amased, that they wyst not what to do. They that fledde to the

gates were there receiued of armed men and slaine. whan they perceiued the gates so kepte, many to saue their liues lept ouer the dyches or closures of the campe, thynking to flee to the next campe of the Carthaginenses, and they were also receiued of the Romayn embushement and slayne, so that none escaped. And if any had escaped, they could not haue brought word of the newes to the other campe, before the Romaines came theym selues: suche spede they made to go to the secõd campe, after they had so slaine and oppressed them of the first fielde. Thus in the breake of the day, they came to the second campe, where they found all thinges more vnready, then in the fyrste: some were gone forthe for woode, some on forragynge, some for vytailes, many walked vp and downe before the gate of the campe vnarmed, many were layed downe to take their reste: the Romaynes, beynge yet fyers of their late victory, slewe fyrste suche as made resystence at the entre of the campe, and after they entred and made great slaughter. With this great noyse, many arose and armed them, and came to the defence of their fyelde, and thereby the battayle for a season was cruel and stronge: but as sone as they perceyued the freshe blodde on the Romayns shyeldes, whyche was a sygne of the deathe of their companye, they were stryken with suche feare, that they fledde as many as myght sundry wayes, so that nyght and morninge Martius vanquyshed ii. of the hostes of the Carthaginenses, and slewe. xxxvii. M. men, and. i. M. and. viii. C. were taken. Hye wanne also their tentes, wherein was a ryche praye. Amonge other thynges there he founde a helmette of syluer, waying. C. xxxviii. vnces, and thereuppon was grauen the Image of Hasdruball, the sonne of Amylcar: whiche helmet was sent to the senate of Rome, and kepte long after in the Capitolie, for an honorable monumẽt or remembrance of the victory of Martius. And after his tyme it was called Martius helmet, vnto the tyme of the burning of the Capitolye. After these great harmes and losses, bothe gyuen and taken on bothe partes, they ceassed warryng for a whyle in Spayne, neyther party beyng hastye to put al in ieopardye, tylle they were sure of more socours.

Howe

¶ How Haſdrubal being encloſed in the ſtraightes beſyde Mentiſſa, eſcaped the daunger thereof by mockyng his ennemies: and of the choſyng of yong P. Corn. Scipio to be capitain in Spayne. La. 43.

After the ſubduing of Capua, Appius Claudius Nero the conſul, with an army of .xii. M. fotemen, and .xi. C. horſemen, was ſent into Spayn: where receyuing alſo the hoſt that was before with Martius & Fonteius, he toke the way toward Haſdrubal the ſon of Amilcar, that lay with his army at a place called the Blacke ſtone, betwene the town of Illiturgus and Mentiſſa, whiche was a place ſo encloſed, that there was no waye to iſſewe out, but at certayne ſtreytes, whiche ſtreites Claudius Nero at his fyrſte comynge, cauſed to be wel and ſtrongly kepte, that the other ſhoulde by no waye eſcape, but at his pleaſure. Haſdruball perceiuing him ſelfe to be encloſed on all partes, fearyng his eſcape from thens, ſent incontinente an harrold to the conſull, with faithfull promeſſe, that in caſe he wolde ſuffre him and his company to departe out of that ſtreytes, without further battell or trouble, he wolde be contented forthwith to departe oute of Spayne, with al the army of Carthage, and leaue the countrey holly to the Romayns. This his large offer Nero gladly receyued, and the next daie folowynge was appoynted for a communication to be had betwene them, of the condicions of delyuerynge of the caſtels and fortreſſes, whiche they had in poſſeſſion, and what day ſhould be appoynted for the Carthaginenſes garryſons to departe with their baggage, withoute gile or fraude, from the ſaid caſtels and townes, and the other to be receyued in their places. When they were agreed on this communication, al the ſame night Haſdruball cauſed many of his hoſt, with all his groſſe and heauy cariage, to be ſent forth by the ſayde ſtreyghtes, beyng then not ſo ſtreitly kept and watched. Euer forſeyng, that there ſhoulde not ouer many departe at ones that nyght, to the intent the ſmallenes of the noumbre, by makynge ſmalle noyſe, myght with their ſylence deceiue his ennemies, and alſo the better to eſcape the narrowe and vneaſy wayes of the ſtreighte paſſages.

The day folowing the conſul and he had long communication, and bokes were wrytten of thynges of ſmalle importaunce,

tyll it drewe towarde nyght: and then they agreed to mete the nexte mornyng, to fynisshe theyr deuyses. This nyght also Hasdruball bestowed, in sending furth many mo of his host, & more of his cariage then he dyd the nyght before. The next metyng also was in lyke maner in vayne, the tyme wasted and spente in deuises of couenauntes: and euer in the nyght he sent of his footemen and stuffe out of daunger.

¶ Thus in reasonyng and debatyng, dyuerse dayes were employed, tyll all his footemen and cariage were escaped. And when a great parte of his host was by this illusion escaped, then began Hasdruball more to staye, and be styffe in the agreeing of couenauntes, in so muche that he began to dissent from dyuers artycles, whervnto he had before assented. For as his feare was lessed, his fayth also decressed. The next morning there appered a great and darke myste vpon the ground, as wel on the hilles as on the valeys, whiche serued wel Hasdruball for his purpose. For he, thinking then his good houre to be come, sent to Nero the consull, aduertysing hym, that the same day was, and euer had ben kepte hye holy and sacred amonge the Carthaginenses: so that in the same it was not lawfull for hym, to trauayle about any busyneese. Wherfore he desyred the communication to be deferred tyll the daie folowyng. The consull yet thynkyng no fraude or deceite to be in the message, agreed thervnto. And then Hasdruball with spede issued out of the strayte with the reste of his hoste, horsemen & Elephantes, with as small noise as he could make, and was passed all daunger, before the daye waxed clere. But whē the son began to appere, thē Nero perceiuing the campe of the Carthaginenses to be voyde, and knowyng manyfestly of theyr departure, with theyr vntrueth and his mocke and illusion, he made as muche spede as he coulde to folowe his ennemyes, with a feruent desyre to fyght, yf he myght ouertake them. But they were in safegarde, er he myght atteine vnto theym, without any thyng doyng, onlesse it were small skirmisshes betwene the taile of the host of the Carthaginenses and the lyght forerynders of the Romayne armie.

¶ The ende of the yere drewe nere, and the tyme of choosyng of offycers began to approche: at whiche election Marcus Marcellus, and Marcus Ualerius Leuinus were chosē consulles. Then the senate of Rome, with no lesse diligence de-

liuered

libered of the affayres of Spayne, then they dyd of the eſtate of Italie, for the ſauegarde wherof they determyned to augment the armie, that was there with Nero the conſull, and to ſende alſo with the ſame a newe capitayne, whom they called a proconſull. But all theyr doubte was, whom they ſhulde aſſygne to that office, to ſuccede in the place of two ſo noble capitaynes, as were of late there ſlayne, in the ſpace of. xxx. dayes. The daie was appoynted for the commune election of this capitayne, by voyce of the ſenatours and alſo of the communes. Some loked, when many valiant men woulde haue offered them ſelues therto for the wealth of their countrey: But none was founde amonge them, that wolde enterpryſe to take on hande that great & perillous charge. The citezens by great aſſembles mette at the daye and place appoynted for the nomination. At whiche daye the noble men loked one vpon an other, as people amaſed and deſtitute of counſayle in ſuche perplexitie, lamenting the ſore decaye of the ſtate of the citie.

¶ When none coulde be found amonge them, worthy for that rome or office: then ſodeinly yonge P. Cornelius Scipio, the ſonne of him that was before ſlayne in Spaine, being then but xxiiii. yeres old, ſtode vp in an high place, where al mē myght well ſee and beholde hym, and deſyred, that the ſame offyce myght be gyuen vnto hym. when he had declared his mynde, anon the hole multitude of all eſtates gaue to hym their conſent, cryng: Luckie be his empire in Spayne.

¶ Soone after his haſtie election a ſodeyne ſylence was amonge the multitude, and then all men began ſecretly with them ſelues to conſyder their haſte in their nomination, meruaylyng, and alſo forthinkyng, that they had more fauoured the perſon through affection, then they did conſider his youth by theyr reaſon, many miſlyked the fortune that had happed to his ſtocke and familie in the ſame countrei before, and ſome were ſorye to ſende one of the ſame kyn and name, to gouerne the countreie, where his father and vncle were ſlayne and lay buryed.

¶ When yonge Scipio perceyued their ſilence, and repentaunce of their haſtie election, he deſired them a lyttell to giue him audience. And there he made them ſuch an oration, in the excuſe of his age, and concerning the rule and affayres to him

commytted, with such an herte and courage, that he not onely enflamed their hertes with more ardent desyre and loue towarde hym, but also he fulfylled them with a certeyne hope of prosperous successe in his empyre. For the yonge man, besyde many his marueylous vertues and good qualities, wherwith he was naturally indewed, he had also from his infancie a wonderfull counning or gifte in the noble auauncing and settyng furth of the same. Somtime amonge the commune people he woulde shewe certayne dreames or visions, that he had in the nyght: sometime he woulde declare vnto them thinges that he was commanded inwardly by the goddes to execute. These and such lyke his straunge wordes, with the maner and faction of lyuing after he was fyrste put in auctoritie, shewed suche a magnificence in hym, that the commune people both had an opinion, and also publysshed the same, that Scipio was descended of the stocke or kynred of the goddes. Inuentyng a lyke fable of his conception to be by the seede of a serpent or snake, as heretofore hath ben fayned of great Alexander: affyrming, that the similitude of the same hath ben dyuers times seen in his mothers chamber: but so soone as any man entred her sayde chaumbre, it dyd sodaynly glide and vanysshe away.

¶ This fayned inuention of his conception, and the superstitious myndes of the people towarde hym, he woulde nother affyrme to be true, nother saye they were false and vntrewe: but couertly left them to dwell styll in theyr owne opinions: wherby all men had suche an admiration of hym, that they suffred hym to enioy that great roume, that els was full vnmete for that his yong age. The army, that shuld be vnder hym in Spayne, was increased tenne thousand fotemen, and one. M. horsemen: and M. Julius Sullanus was appoynted to helpe hym in all his busy affayres of charge.

¶ With this newe army and a nauy of. xxx. shyppes, he departed out of Italy, makyng great spede, tylle he arryued in Spayne: where he gathered togither all the power that remained there before, and so sobrely handled him self to al men, that in his woordes they iudged to be bothe a royall maiestie, and a stedfast faythfulnes. He praysed moch the souldiours, whiche he founde there, fyrst for that not withstanding theyr ii. great losses of men & capitayns, yet they kept still that countrey, defendyng manfully their frendis, and many their cities

of

of the ſame: and alſo that they ſuffred not theyr ennemies to enioy the proſperous fortune, whiche by the loſſe of the Romayns was ones gyuen them: Thyrdly, for that they had driuen their ennemies to forſake theyr abode on this ſide the water of Iberus. But aboue all other, he had Lucius Martius in great honour and veneration. And anon after his cõmyng, he beſtowed his newe menne of warre, to places where they ſhuld remaine for the winter ſeaſon, and he hym ſelfe, after all thinges were ordinately diſpoſed, went to Tarracon.

¶ The fame of Scipio was no leſſe among his ennemies, thã it was among his frendes. They alſo had a certaine feare of hym, coniecturyng, as it were by ſecrete diuination, the likely ſucceſſe of thynges that were to enſue. They feared hym before they hadde cauſe, and they feared hym the more, by how mocbe the cauſe or reaſon of theyr feare was hydde and vnknowen. And in this perplexitie of mynde, they departed their armies, and went to dyuers partes for the wynter ſeaſon. Haſdruball the ſonne of Gyſgon, went to the ſea, toward the pyllars of Hercules: Mago kept the myddell of the cuntrey, and Haſdruball the ſonne of Amilcar, lay nigh the ryuer of Iberus, not farre from Sagunt.

¶ The oration of Scipio to his ſouldyours in Spayne, after his commyng thyther. Cap. xliiii.

IN the ſpryng of the yere P. Scipio cõmanded all his ſhyppes, furniſhed with men vitailes and munimentes of warre, to mete hym at the mouthe of the ryuer of Iberus: where he with the reſt of his hoſte, comynge by lande from Tarracon, mette them. And there thinkyng it neceſſary to hym, to declare his mynde to the olde ſouldyours that were lefte in Spayne, after the laſte great loſſe and ſlaughter of the Romaynes, he called them togyther, and made his oration as hereafter foloweth.

¶ There was neuer newe capitayn before me, that had cauſe to gyue thankes vnto his ſouldyours, before he hadde tryed theyr hardines and diligence in bataile: but fortune hath boũd me vnto you (louinge ſouldiours) before I knewe this countreye, or ſawe the place of our Campe. Fyrſte for the loue and obedience that ye haue borne to my father and mine vncle

bothe

bothe quycke and deade: secundarily for that, whan the hole countrey was as loste, by reason of the greate distruction of our people: yet you by your noble vertue and myghte, haue obteyned the possession of the same agayne, bothe to the Romaynes, and also to me their deputie here, and successour to my sayd father and vncle. But now, sens through the fauour of the goddis we intende to worke, not that we may dwell in Spayne styll our selues, but that the Carthaginenses shall haue no dwellyng here: Nother onely to restraine them, that they shall not come on this syde the bankes of thé water of Iberus: but that we intend to passe the same floode with our army, to gyue them battayle. I feare, lest it shall be thoughte by you, that this my counsayle is more hardy (and spoken after myne age) than wyse, consyderynge the late losse that we haue had here, wherby the tyme shuld not serue vs to vndertake suche great enterpryses. There is noo manne hath more cause than I, to remembre our euyll fortune in batayle in Spayne, who haue had both my father and myne vncle slayne here, within the space of thyrty days, as ye wold say, to make here a heape of corps of our family one vpon an other. Neuertheless, as the losse and lacke of frendes is displeasant to the mynde of men, euen so doth fortune and noble vertuouse courage forbyd a man, in suche case to dispayre, specially sens thorough fatall fortune our chaunce hath heretofore bene, that after we haue bene beaten and susteined great losses in the beginning: yet at the last we haue euer ouercome our ennemies, that before suppressed vs. I wyll not reherse the olde hystories of our warres with Porsena, with the Frenchmen, and with the Sammites: I wyll onely remembre the warres with these our ennemies the Carthaginenses, how many nauies of shyppes, howe many capitaynes, and howe many armies lost we in the fyrst battayles, that we had with theym, before the tyme of this Annibal? And nowe in his tyme at Trebia, at Trasymenus, and at Cannas, what other thinges did appere, other than hole armyes with their capitaynes and Romayne Consuls slayne? Furthermore, howe great a parte of Italy, of Sardinia, and Sicilia haue forsaken the Romaynes, to followe the amitie of Annibal? and how nigh the citie of Rome pytched he his campe? ye he hym self was sene almost to ride hard to the gates of Rome. In all the tyme of this great ruyne and hard fortune, the hertes, the vertue and courage of

the

of the Romaynes remayned ſtyl ſtedfaſt hole and vnmouable: wherby they haue ben euer ſuſteyned and ſet vp agayne. Afˉter the cruell batayle of Cannas, Hasdruball, with a great armye was goynge ouer the mountaynes into Italye, to helpe his brother Annball, and to ioyne theyr powers together: whych if he had done, accordynge to his intent, there hadde by thys day ben almoſt no memorye or name of the Romayns left. But then ye hardy ſouldyours, by the gouernaunce of my father, withſtode theim, and by your good fortune ſo wel ſped there, that therby the euel chaunces, which before happned vs, were wel releued, and nowe, through the goodnes of the goddes are dayly more ioyfull and proſperous. In Sicilia the great cities of Syracuſa and Agrigentum, be wonne agayn, and the hole Ile brought vnto the obedience of the Romaines, and our ennemies clene expulſed. In Italy Capua is taken, & the Arpines brought again vnder the ſubiection of Rome. And Annball in gret feare fleing frō Rome, is nowe dryuen into an angle of the countrey of the Brutians, where the dayly prayer that he maketh to the goddes aboue al thynges is, that he may ſafe and ſound eſcape without daunger out of the countrey of his ennemies. Wherfore frendes, there is nothyng more vnmete or more contrary to reaſon, then that you, who haue in al aduerſitie and lowe ebbe, when the goddes were them ſelues almoſt on Annibals partie, & yet by the guyding of my father and frendes, haue ſuſteyned and borne vp the eſtate of the Romaynes: that ye nowe, when al thynges ar mery and proſperous, ſhoulde ſhrynke or ſuffre your hartes to fayle you. Nowe the immortall goddes, the gouernours of the Romayne Empyre, who wylled the people of Rome, by one aſſent to elect me vnto this gret offyce and dignitie, the ſame goddes by ſundry preſages ſignes and dreames in the nyght haue ſhewed me, that all thynges hereafter ſhal haue proſperous ſucceſſe. Ye and that I moſt at this time do regarde, my harte giueth me, that ere it be long, al Spaine ſhalbe ours, ſo that as many as beare the name of a Carthaginenſe, ſhall be gladde for feare to flee hens, both by lande and by ſea. And reaſon alſo gyueth, that the ſame whiche in my herte is conceyued, muſt nedes be trewe. For dyuers of theyr frendes, whyche haue by theym ben euil intreted, haue of late ſent embaſſadours to vs for ſocours. Agayne, there

be of them thre captaines, whiche can not agree among them selues. For whiche cause they haue deuided theyr armye in three partes, and are departed farre a sundre. Wherfore the same fortune that skourged and distroyed vs, doth nowe come on theim. For their felowes and friendes, in whom they trust be gone from theim, euen as the people called Celtiberi, departed and forsoke you, when ye hadde moste nede of theim. They also haue deuided and seuered theyr hostes, which was the cause of the destruction, bothe of my father & of myne vncle. This discorde wyll not suffer theim to ioyne to gether againe. And be ye sure, no one armie of theim by it selfe is able to withstande you. Wherfore I moste hertely pray you good souldiours, loue and fauour nowe the name of the Scipions, whiche am I the sonne of your olde capitaine Scipio, an impe growen out (as ye woulde saye) of a stocke that is cut downe by the grounde. And ye olde knightes, so worke, that ye may bringe me a yonge capitaine, with my newe armie ouer Iberus into the countrey, which ye haue passed, after many great actes and prowes shewed: and I doubte not shortly to bringe to passe, that as ye nowe knowe in me to be a similitude or resemblaunce of my father and vncle, by my face, countenaunce, and features of my body, euen so shall ye see in me also an exaumple of theyr witte faith and vertue: in suche wyse, that euery one of you shall saye: Scipio our olde capitaine is alyue agayne.

¶ The citie of newe Carthage in Hispayne is won by the Romaynes, with a great praye of golde siluer and all other necessaries for the warre, with the pledges of the noble menne and cities of Spayne

Capi. xlv.

When he had by these exhortations kendeled the hertes of his men, he lefte behinde hym to kepe that countreye, M. Sillanus, with three thousande fotemen, and thre hundred horsemen: with the rest of his armye, which was. xxv. thousande fotemen, and. ii. thousande and. v. C. horsemen, he passed the ryuer of Iberus. When he was passed ouer, many counsailed hym,

hym, seinge the army of the Carthaginenses was deuyded into thre partes, that he shulde assaile that host of theim, which was next vnto hym, sayenge, It was peryll, if they were ioyned together, lest he shulde not be able to resyste theim: but he had imagined in his mynde, that he woulde fyrste assaulte Carthago Noua, whiche was then not onely ryche of the rychesse of the inhabitantes of the same, but also riche by meanes of the Carthaginenses, who had leyde there theyr treasure, armour, with moche other apparayll for the warre. There remayned also in that Citie, all the pledges of noble men and citees of Spayne. Besyde this, the citie was situate vpon the sea, from whense it was easy to passe ouer into Affrica. The hauen also therof was able to receyue easely the greatest nauye of any prynce.

¶ Of this his purpose no man was priuye, but onely T. Lelius, gouernour of the shyppes and armye by the sea, to whome he commaunded, soo to tempre his course with his shyppes, that his armye by lande, and the other by sea, myghte bothe sodaynely appeere at Carthage in one tyme. Whyche his charge was dewely putte in execution. For the seuenthe daye after theyr departynge frome Iberus, they mette at newe Carthage: where incontynente the Campe was made, and tentes pytched on the Northe syde of the citie.

¶ Nowe is the syte or sytuation of Carthage on this manier: In the myddell of Spayne, there is a greatte bosome or goulfe, in to the whyche the sea hath his full course, within the lande the lengthe of fyue hundred passes, and the breadthe of the sea in the same place, is muche of the same quantitie. In the inner parte or furtheste ende of this goulfe, is a hylle, on whyche the citie is buylded: and it is on two partes, that is to saye, on the easte syde, and on the southe syde, enclosed with the sea, whyche frome the sayde goulfe or bosome, rounneth in to the lande by the one syde of the citie. Uppon the weaste syde, it is defended with a greatte and brode poole, that rounneth vp also a good part of the Northe syde of the towne: The deepenesse of the poole is at noo certayntie: For as the sea dothe aryse on heyghte and ebbe lowe, soo is the water thereof deepe or shalowe. ¶ Thus is the Cytie on all partes enuyronned

with water, as it were an yslande, oneles it be on a part of the northsyde: and the mayne lande there, passeth not .ii. hundred and fyfty paces in bredth. Wherfore sens the grounde there was no broder, Scipio intended not to make trenches on that part, for that he thought hym selfe stronge ynough to keepe that lyttell peece of grounde from his ennemies: and also to thintent he myght at all tymes haue recourse to view the walles and strength of the towne.

¶ Whan Scipio had ordered all thinges ordinately vpon the lande for the assaulte, he than went to the hauen, where he in lyke maner ordered his shippes and his men, that it might appere to the citizens, that they shoulde be assaulted, as well by water, as by lande; he also commaunded watche to be kepte vpon the water in the night season in euery shyppe. And after all thynges were prudently appoynted, he retourned to his campe, wyllyng before he dyd any thing, touching the assault, to instruct and admonyshe his people of his mynd, concerning the same, and to comfort theym in that enterpryse, he called them togither and made his oration to them in this wyse.

¶ Who so euer beleueth (good souldiours) that ye are nowe brought hyther only to assault and wynne this one towne, he dothe more consyder your labour and peyne therin, than the profyte that shall ensue therof. Trewe it is, that ye shall assault and skale the walles but of one onely towne: but in the obteynyng of this one, ye also shall wynne the whole cuntrey of Spayne. For in this towne are the pledges of all the noble men, kynges and people of Spayne, who being ones taken, full shortly shall cause all that euer the Carthaginenses doo nowe possede, to be yelded vnto vs, and to be vnder our dominon. Here also is al the money and tresure of our ennemies: whiche being taken from them, they shall be able no longer to maynteyne the warres, seinge they haue many hyred straungers in theyr army. And the same treasure shall meruaylously profyte vs, therby to wynne the hertes and loue of these barbarous people. Besyde this, here remaineth theyr ordinãce, their armour, and al abilimentes necessary for the warre: whiche beynge ones wonne, shall serue well our pourpose, and therof make our ennemies bare, to theyr vtter distruction. Furthermore, we shall be lordes of a fayre and a ryche citie, whervnto lyeth a goodly hauen, whereby we shall be serued

both

both by ſea & by lande, of all thinges that we ſhall at any tyme lacke. The hauing of theſe thynges ſhal not only be pleſant & profitable to vs, but alſo the lacke of the ſame, ſhal be a muche greatter hyndrance and loſſe to our ennemies. For this citie hath been and is theyr greatteſt ſtrength. Here be theyr ſtore houſes for corne, here is theyr treaſaurye, here is theyr armory, and theyr houſes ſtuffed with all thynges neceſſarye for theyr ſhyppes of warre: generally this citie is the onely receptacle of all that they haue. Hyther lyeth the ryght courſe by ſea from Affrica to Spayn. And nowe, ſens I perceyue ye be ſufficiently inſtructed, and haue all thinges in good ordre, mete for the purpoſe, lette vs with good hertes, and all our ſtrength, make haſte to the aſſaultyng of this newe Carthage. Therwithall, euery man with loude voice aſſented therto. And he, not thinkyng to be ſlacke in his buſynes, went furthe towarde Carthage, cauſing it to be aſſauted both by water and by lande. On the other ſyde, Mago capitain of the Carthaginenſes, perceiuing that the aſſault was ordeined to be giuen both by ſea and land, he diſpoſed his men within the towne on this maner: Two. M. of the townesmen he cauſed to be armed & put in aray on that part of the towne, that the Romain tētes or campe was, fiue. C. men he appoynted to kepe the caſtell: other. v. C. he aſſigned to remayne vppon a hylle, that was within the citie towarde the eaſte: The reſt of the people he commanded to be redy to helpe and ſuccour their companies, in what place of the towne ſo euer they ſawe moſt nede to reſiſt. And whan ſo euer they herde any crye made in any parte, through the violent force of the aſſauting: than ſodainly the gate was open, wherat he cauſed the. ii. M. ſouldiours of the towne to iſſue vpon the Romains, at whoſe fyrſt cōming, Scipio cauſed his men to recule backe, to thintent he might draw them further from the towne, and more nere the reſte of the Romayne army. At the fyrſt the battayle was ſtyffe, and well maynteined on both partes: but whan the Carthaginēſes perceiued ſo great a numbre cominge from the tentes of the Romains, to the ſuccour of their felowes, they fledde with greate feare towarde their citie, and were chaſed and ſlayne harde at theyr gates: which cauſed no leſſe tremblyng to be in the citie, than was be fore in the battayle. In ſo moche that diuers places of the walles were lefte bare and naked, without men to

defende the same: euery man lept from his appoynted place, so great and sodayne was theyr feare. This perceiued well Scipio, standyng on an hyll without the towne. Wherefore he commaunded his souldiours, to come out of their tentes spedyly, to the assaulte of the towne, and to bring with theim scalyng ladders. His commaundement was fulfylled. The fyght was strong on bothe partes. And to encourage the more his people, Scipio hym selfe came thyther, vnder the couert of shyldes and pauesses, to withstande the shotte that came from the walles, of arowes dartes and other ingynnes whiche was greate. There he somtyme exhorted and coumforted his men: somtime he counsayled them, what was best for them to do, for the attayning of theyr purpose. This his presence was a wytnesse, bothe of mens valyant courage, and also of theyr cowardyse, wherby euery man enforced hym selfe to clymme vp, neyther regardynge the heyghte of the walles, nor fearyng the men of armes, that fiersely defended the walles. On the other syde of the towne lyke assault was gyuen from the shyppes, by that part that laye towarde the water: but all to small purpose. For Mago had so furnyshed the walles with armed men, euer bryngynge theym plenty of dartes and other ordinances, that the Romans lost more than they wāne. And aboue al thinges, the sauing of the town was the height of the walles, wherby fewe of their ladders were able to reche to the toppe of the same, and those ladders that wer longest, wer therto most weake: so that whan one was ascended vp on any of them, other wolde also clyme after him theron, and so with heauy burden being loded, many of them brake, to the great hurt of the climers. whervpon Scipio, cōsidering his vaine labours, caused his wery company to withdraw them, and to rest them: wherby the Carthaginēses wer not only eased and releued of their present feare & danger, but also therby toke a hardy courage and opinion, that the citie was out of all danger of taking by any assault, & that they wer strong inough to defend it, tyll their other capitaines of the Carthaginenses armies might haue time inough to come to their rescous, and to reise their siege. It drew then towarde the middel of the day, when certain fysshermen of Tarracon, that had ben fishing in their botes on the said great and large poole, that lay on the northwest part of the towne, certified

Scipio

Scipio, that the water therof was than at a very low ebbe, & alſo the northwind, being very quicke, and driuing the waues with the tide, cauſed a lower vale, than had lightly been ſeen: ſo that men might well wade ouer to the walles of the citie, the water being in moſt places not paſt the middell of a man, and in ſome partes not paſt the knees. This ſtrange fortune of that vnſeen lowe ebbe of the water, Scipio tourned to a myracle, ſayinge: It was the wille and pleaſure of the goddis, to withdraw at that time the water from that great pole, to make for the Romains a paſſage, & to open them a way, by which neuer man before had paſſed. With theſe ſtronge perſuaſions, he cauſed the reſt of his army, which had reſted thē in their tentes, during the time of the firſt aſſault, to take ladders and engins, and to gyue a newe aſſault in the ſame place, where they were before beaten back. There began a fierſe & a cruel bickering. Neuertheleſſe the height of the walles was ſo beneficiall to the citezens, that were they neuer ſo valiante and hardy, yet vp could they not get: but were ouerthrowen with ſmall peyne to the townes men.

¶ While they were buſy and attentife to defende the Citie, as well there as on the ſea coſt, Scipio, with a good numbre of ſtronge men, ſecretely withdrewe hym to the ſayd ponde: where he bad his companye folowe the god Neptunus, that ſhulde be theyr guide on their way through that ſhalowe water. Whervpon they with ſmall labour went ouer, and ſet vp ladders to the walles, which they found eaſy to be ſcaled, and not kept with any men of warre. For that they hauinge a ſure hope in the naturall ſtrengthe on that parte, by reaſon of the water, had made no munimentes or defence: nor yet lefte any watch there: euery man was gone to the defence of the other partes, in the which thaſſault ſemed moſt fierſe & dangerouſe: ſo that without any reſiſtence they entred the towne, & incontinent made haſt to come to the gate, where the battaile was moſt buſy & ſtrong. To which whā they wer com, they found al the townſmen ſo erneſt in their defēce, or in cōforting their felowes, that they neither herd nor ſaw the Romans tyl they perceiued them at their backes, throwing of dartes, & ſleynge them on all partes, nother tyl that time knewe they the town to be won. Thā anon wer the gates broken down, & a gret nūbre of armed mē entred at the gate, many had by that time goten in ouer the walles: ſom went incontinent about the towne,

ſleinge

fleyng all that they met: an other company wente in araye to the market place, through the myddel of the Citie. Than perceyued they theyr ennemies fleyng, some to the hyl within the towne, that was kepte with .v. C. men of warre. Mago with a great numbre with him fledde to the castel. Then Scipio sent parte of his host to the sayd hyll, whiche anone was wonne, and the people slayne or els taken. The rest wente to assaulte the castel, whiche Mago a season valyantly defended: but seyng all the towne full of his ennemies, and that he was not lyke to haue any socours: he yelded vp him selfe with the castell to the Romaynes. Then ceassed they to make any further slaughter in the citie. Euery man wente to the spoile of the towne: the praye whereof was greate, as well of golde and syluer as of ordinaunce, artyllary, corne, shyppes, iron, laten and many other thinges mete for the apparel of shippes: the certayntie wherof I wyll not reherse, for that writars vary moch therin. There was also .x. M. prysoners taken, wherof as many as were citizens, Scipio let go at libertie, and suffered to dwel styl in the towne, and to enioy as moche of their goodes as was not before spoyled. Amonge other prisoners there were two. M. of craftes men, which he caused to be bōd men to worke for the common profytte of the citie of Rome, puttyng them in comfort, that they should within shorte space be made all free, if they wolde labour and worke earnestely about suche necessaryes, as they shoulde haue nede of in the warre. A greate noumber of the rest, that were seruauntes and lusty yonge men, he sent to be rowers in his shyppes and galeys in the places of suche as lacked. And he also encreased his nauy of eyght shyppes wel furnished. Beside al these prisoners he had also the pledges of noble men and cities, to a greate noumbre: whome he caused to be well kepte and gently entreated. The rest of that daye Scipio gaue lycence to his wery men to rest therm selues. For there were fewe, but they had al the daye before ben sore trauayled with fyghtyng in one place or other. The custody of the towne he gaue to Cn. Lelius and his company of set men, and him selfe wente to his tentes.

Of

¶ Of the gentylnes of Scipio, in reſtoryng a fayre yonge virgin vndefiled to Lucelus, vnto whom she was eyaunced. Cap. xlvi.



A the morowe he aſſembled all his hoſte togy-ther, and fyrſt he gaue humble thankes & praiſe to the goddis, that had gyuen into his handes in one day ſo great, ſo noble, and ſo riche a citie, the lyke wherof was not to be found in Spain. Into which his ennemies had gathered togi-ther the treaſure bothe of Affrica and alſo of Spayne, in ſuch abundance, that there was but lyttell or nothyng left for the: the Romayns hauyng great plenty of all thinges. Nexte he muche prayſed the noble courage and valyantnes of his men of warre, whom nother the ſodayne excurſation of theyr ennemies out of the towne, nother the hygh walles or waters of the ſame, coulde make afrayde or let them of theyr enter-pryſe: nother yet theyr caſtels and ſtrong towres, coulde re-ſiſt theyr powers. Aboue other he praiſed muche twayn, that firſt ſcaled the walles, and entred the towne, to eche of them he gaue a crowne of good value: his other ſouldiours he re-warded, euery man after his vertue and merites: but ſpecial-ly Ln. Lelius, the gouernour of the nauye, he prayſed and muche loued, to whome he gaue, for a rewarde, a crowne of golde, and .xxx. oxen.

¶ Than cauſed he the pledges to be brought before him, wil-lyng them to be of good comforte, and that they ſhuld conſi-der, that they wer now in the power of the Romayns, whoſe naturall propretie and deſire is, to bynde men throughe theyr benefytes ſhewinge, to loue them, rather than by compulſion to kepe men in feare of them. And had leauer to ioyne ſtrange nations in amitie with them by faithfull felowſhyp, then ſo-rowfully to kepe them in myſerable ſeruitude. Than he toke the names of the cities, that had their pledges there, and to the ambaſſadours that by chaunce were with hym preſent of any of the ſayde cities, he, incontinent delyuered the pledges vnto theim: to the other cities he ſent meſſangers, wyllynge theim to ſend vnto him for theim, and they ſhulde haue theyr pledges frely delyuered. There were alſo taken many noble matrones and honeſt maydens, whom he committed to ſobre

and honest men to be kept, without any force or dishonour to be done vnto them: among other captiues there was one virgin brought vnto hym, of so excellent beautie, that where so euer she went, all men delyted to beholde her. Scipio enquired of her, of what cuntrey she was, and of what kynred she was descended: & he perceyued by her, that she was betrouthed or made sure to a yong prince of the Celtiberiãs, whose name was Luceius. Whervppon he incontinent sent for the said yonge man, and also for her parentes. At whose coming, knowyng that the yonge man was sooze enamoured of her, he thus sayd vnto hym: I being a yonge man, haue sente for you, that are also a yong man, to come to me, the cause is, for that whan this yong maiden, being fianced or ensured to you, was brought to me, by my soldiors, I herd say, that you entierly loued her. And her beautie witnesseth, that you haue good cause so to do. If I might laufully enioy her pleasaunt loue, and were not otherwyse occupied in my mynde about the affayres of the commune welthe: I coulde perchaunce beare her my loue: and desyre to enioy the same: but nowe I wyll beare fauour to your loue, that of ryght ought to haue her. She hath bene here with me as well and honourably kept, & her virginite preserued, as though she had dwelled styl with her owne parentes, to thintent I might make of her a present to you most acceptable, & for the conseruation of mine honor. And for this my gift, I require of you, but one only reward, that is, that you from hẽsforth becom a louing frẽd to the Romãs. And if ye esteme me to be a good or an honorable man, as my father and vncle before me were reputed for to be: thinke, that there are in the noble citie of Rome many like vnto vs. And truste me neuer, if any people can this daye be founde on the earth, that you wyll be gladder to haue the loue and frendshyppe of, or that ye wolde be more sory to haue the displeasure of. The yong man, after gret thankes gyuen hym, praide the goddes to rewarde him for his goodnes, where his power suffised not: Then were the parentes of the mayden called forthe, who had broughte with them a great summe of golde for the redemption of theyr chyld. But when they perceiued, that he had giuen her frely to her husband, they desired him to take a parte therof, as of theyr gyfte, for the declaration of theyr good hertes towardes hym: affirminge, that his receyuynge

uinge therof ſhulde be as ioyfull vnto them, as the reſtitution of theyr dowghter vndefiled.

¶Then Scipio, beinge ouercome with theyr longe and vehement interceſſion, cauſed the ſayde ſumme to be layde on the grounde before his fete, and callinge Luceius againe to hym, he ſayde: Beſyde the dowere that ye ſhal receyue of your father in lawe, for the mariage of his doughter, ye ſhall alſo take this gyfte of dower at my hande. With whiche his great gift, and alſo moch honour to hym done beſyde, he retourned home to his houſe and countrey, declaring to euery man the honour and magnifycence of Scipio, ſayinge, that there was a yonge man come moſt lyke vnto a god, who bothe with his power in warre, and alſo with his gentilneſſe and liberalitie in peace, had ouercome all the countrey. This yonge gentilman leauing his houſe and familye in good ordre, ſhortely after retourned to Scipio, bringynge with hym a. M. CCCC. good horſemen, to the ayde and ſocour of the Romaynes.

¶Then Scipio ſent L. Lelius to Rome, to beare tidynges of his victory, and with hym he ſent Mago, and. xv. other ſenatours of newe Carthage, whiche wer, at the takynge of the ſame citie, taken alſo priſoners, & after he had repaired the broken walles of the citie, & ſet therin a ſufficient numbre of ſouldiours, for the defence of the ſame: he remoued to Tarracon: whyther he had apoynted the legates of all his olde friendes, and alſo of his newe gotten acqueintaunce, to reſorte for a further communication of theyr aliaunce, and for the further procedynge in theyr affaires.

¶Anniball fleith Cn. Fuluius, with xiii. M. Romaynes, beſide Herdonea: Marcellus the conſull chaſyth Anniball through Apulia, makyng many ſkirmiſches with hym. ca. xlvii.

IN this eſtate were the warres in Spayne, durynge whiche tyme the conſull Marcellus toke Salapia by treaſon, and. ii. other townes of the Samnites by force: where he ſlewe. iii. M. men of warre, whiche Anniball had lefte for the kepyng of the ſame townes. And Cn. Fuluius the proconſull, truſting to wynne Herdonea from Anniball, which

was not very stronge of it selfe, neither had any garnyson left there, for the sufficient defence therof: he remoued thyther with his army, hauyng the more hope and comfort to atteyne the same, for that he knew wel, that Annibal, after the losse of Salapia, was departed into the euntrey of the Brutians. But suche as were the sure frendes of Annibal in the towne of Herdonea, sent hym priuyly worde by messangers. And he desyrous to kepe styl his old frendes, hasted so with his horsemen and lyghtest footemen, makyng so great iourneys, that he was alredy com nere Herdonea, before the fame of his comig wer well knowen. And to put the Romayns in more feare, he appered in good aray of battaile sodainly with baners displaied. Whiche Fuluius perceiuynge, with lyke hardynes made spede to put his folke in aray, and toyned battayle with hym. Than Annibal cõmanded his horsemen, that after a signe or token to theim made, whiles the Romains were busy in battail against his footemen, and euery mans eye wer occupied busyly: that they shoulde secretelye cooste the fielde, and parte of them to set vpon the backes of his ennemies, one other parte of them to inuade their campe and tentes with greate noyse and slaughter, saying, that he trusted to vanquyshe this Fuluius as he had .ii. yeres paste ouercome an other Fuluius of his name in the same cuntrey. And in his hope he was nothing deceyued. for so soone as the horsemen assailed the Romayns on theyr backes with great feare and slaughter, anon from the campe was heard a great crye: wherby the Romayns, that before kept aray and fought boldly, were so dismayd, that some fledde, and many mo were slayne. Among which the said Fuluius and .xii. tribunes, with .xiii. M. Romayns were slayne, and theyr campe and stuffe taken.

¶ Than Annibal, trustyng nothyng to the strengthe of that towne, remoued the inhabitantes therof to Metapontus, and to the Thurines. He slew the capitains therof, which had secrete cõmunication with the Consull, and after he set the town on fyre.

¶ Marcellus the Consulle, beynge nothynge afrayde with the tydinges of this losse, sente letters to the senate of Rome, byddynge them to be no whytte discomforted therwith: for he doubted not, but he wolde cause Annibal to haue but very short ioy of his victory. Wherypõ he immediately remo

ued

ned toward Annibal, pitchyng his campe in the playne fieldes euen in the ſyght of his ennemies. And ſoone after valyantly came furthe in order of battayle, redy to fyght. On the other ſyde Annibal was no leſſe quicke than he. The battayle betwene them, bothe of the horſemen and of the footemen, was meruaylous fiers & cruell, neither ceaſſed it, tyll the nyght departed thē, with indifferēt loſſe of both parties. In the night Annibal ſecretly remoued and went into Apulia. Marcellus in the mornyng, perceyuynge the departure of his ennemies, folowed incontinent, and ouertoke theim nere vnto Venuſia. Thus paſſed they all Apulia without any notable battaile, the one folowinge the other: And euer Annibal wolde remoue in the nyght, ſekyng a place to deceiue his ennemies. But the conſull alwayes folowed in the day tyme, ſendynge before hym eſpies, to be ſure from the crafty trayne of Annibal.

¶ The ſummer was almoſt ended, and the tyme of choſynge conſuls drewe nere, at the whiche chuſyng Marcellus ſhulde haue been hym ſelfe: but he ſent his letters to Rome, affyrmynge, that it ſhulde be ryght hurtfull to the common welth, yf he dyd depart one foote from Annibal. For his abſence, yea his onely ceaſſyng to aſſayle hym, ſhulde gyue hym moche courage. Wherupon he was cōmaunded to abyde ſtylle with his army. The other conſul Liuius was ſent for. Than were choſen conſuls Q. Fabius Maximus, and Q. Fuluius Flaccus. Beſyde this it was determined, that M. Claudius Marcellus ſhulde kepe alſo his army and the werres agaynſt Annibal one yere longar.

¶ As touchynge the warres in Spayne, it was ordeyned, that Publius Scipio and Sullanus ſhoulde be there gouernours, not onely for a yere, but vnto the tyme they were called from the ſame by the ſenate.

¶ Aboute this tyme came the ambaſſadours of kynge Syphax from Affrica to Rome, ſhewynge the proſperous battayles that he hadde fought with the Carthaginenſes, deſyrynge to haue the amitie of the Romaynes agreed to hym by the whole ſenate, whyche before was moued betwene hym and the two bretherne Cneius, and P. Scipio in Spayne. To whoſe ambaſſadours the ſenatours not only gaue gentyl thankes and louynge anſweres, but alſo ſent by them to the kyng, ryche preſentes.

¶ Not longe after tidinges wer brought to Rome out of Affrica, that Maſſaniſſa, the ſonne of kynge Gala, was come to Carthage with .v. M. Numidians, and that a great numbre of other Affricans wer hyred to go ouer into Spayne to Aſdruball, to the intent that he, ſtrongly accompanied, might depart ſhortly from thens into Italy to his brother Annibal, in whom they iudged the hope of theyr victory to reſt.

¶ About the ſame time came Lelius out of Spayne to Rome bryngynge with hym a great numbre of priſoners, reherſynge in the ſenate houſe the happy wynnynge of newe Carthage in one daye, with the gettyng of many newe friendes in Spaine. Theſe newes made theim not ſo mery, as the comming of Aſdruball into Italy made theim afrayde, conſyderinge, that before he was come, all theyr power was ſkant able to reſiſte the onely power of Annibal. Neuertheleſſe, with as good chere as coulde be, they diſcharged Lelius, ſendyng hym agayne into Spayne with the ſhyppes that came with hym.

¶ Marcellus gyueth battayle to Annibal, in whiche his men be put to flyght, wherupon he maketh them a sharpe oration, he reneweth the battayll on the morowe, putteth Annibal and his hoſt to flight, with loſſe of many of his men. cap. xlviii.

The newe Conſull, leauynge all thynges in good order at Rome, departed towardes the warres. Q. Fuluius Flaccus paſſed Capua, to whome Q. Fabius made inſtant requeſte, before he departed, that he wolde kepe ſtrayght and quicke warres with Annibal whyles that he dyd beſiege the citie of Tarent: whiche citie, if he myght ones take frome hym, he ſhulde haue no place ſure to go to, neyther knowe to what coſt he myght ſafely tourne hym: ſo that he ſhuld afterwarde haue ſmall cauſe to abide in Italy. The ſame requeſt he alſo made to Marcellus by his letters: who thynkynge no man in Italy ſo able to matche Annibal, as he was hym ſelfe, was ſo kendeled & ſtirred with Fabius letters, that ſo ſone as the wynter was paſſed, and any fode was founde in the fieldes, able to ſuſteyne his army and cattel, he went to Canuſium, where Annibal then laye, and hadde moued the rulers of the towne to yelde vnto hym,

hym, leauyng the Romayne amitie. But ſo ſone as he parceyued, that Marcellus was come, he remoued from thenſe, leauynge that playne countrey, and ſought the hylly and woddy countrey, whiche myght be more apte for traynes of deceipte for his ennemies.

¶ Marcellus euer folowed him harde, ioyning almoſt campe to campe. Dyuers ſkyrmyſhes were made betwene the horſe men of bothe partes. But Annibal not mynding to ieoparde all at ones, fledde before hym in the nyghte. At the laſt the other ouertoke hym in the playne fielde: And as Annibal cauſed his campe to be trenched & fortified, Marcellus with his men let the workes therof: ſo that whether he wold or no, he was enforced to do batayl, which thyng he had moſt eſchued. Wherefore they ordered their armies on bothe parties, and fought tyll the nyght departed them. On the morowe Marcellus early put his men in good aray, and Annibal dydde the ſame, exhortyng his men to remembre their noble conqueſtes at Traſymenus and at Cannas, and not to ſuffre their gredye and vnreaſonable ennemy ſo to vexe them, that they might not haue tyme to incampe them ſelues, ye ſcarſely to loke aboute, or to take breathe. The ſonne whan it ryſeth, and the Romain army, do bothe at one tyme appere in the fieldes. But in caſe (ſaythe he) ye ſo handle hym, that he may ones departe with loſſe of his men out of the fielde, he wil herafter be more eaſy to intreate. With theſe exhortations, and alſo being euyl contented with the tedious continuall purſuing of their enemies: they fierſly went to battaile, where they fought cruelly by the ſpace of. ii. longe houres. At the laſt the ryght wynge of the Romayns gaue backe, whoſe place to fulfyll, Marcellus appoynted an other legion of men of armes of his company. But as the fyrſt reculed with feare, ſo the other came fayntly into their places. At the laſt the Romayn hoſt being more fearefull than ſhamefaſt, began to flee. There was ſlayn that day of the Romains. ii. thouſand and ſeuen hundred, wherof. iiii. wer capitaines hundreders, and two tribunes.

¶ Marcellus after that he was come into his campe, made to his ſouldiours ſo ſoore and cruell an oration, that the wordes of the angry capitayne ſemed to them more diſpleaſaunt and peynefull, than the trauayle that they toke in the battaylle the daie before.

I am

¶I am moche bounde (sayth he) to the immortall goddes, when ye so fearfully toumbled together into your tentes, that it chaunced not your ennemy, after his victory, to assayle your campe also. For no fayle, loke with what feare ye left the battayle, with lyke feare also had ye forsaken your campe. What sodayne feare hath nowe inuaded you? What thynge hath caused you so sone to forget, bothe the estate of your selfe, and also of your ennemies? Do ye not remembre, that these be the same ennemies, whom ye ouercame and pursued the last sōmer? these be the same, whome fleinge before you bothe daye and night, ye chased through the cūtreis. Ye they be the same, that yesterday ye wold neither suffer to flee from you, nor yet gyue theim so moche time, as to fortifye theyr ñelde. I wil no more reherse thynges, wherein ye may glory: but nowe wyll I declare thynges, whereof ye ought moche to be ashamed. Yester daye ye departed from the batayle with euen hande: and nowe what hath this daye or this nyghte ben so greate a lette vnto you, or taken from you? Was your army therby any whit lessed, or theyr power any whyt encreased? Truely me thinketh nowe, that I speake not to mine owne company of souldiours, nor yet to Romains. I perceiue here nothing of theim, but bodies and armour. For if ye had had the same hertes and mides your ennemies shuld neuer haue loked you on the backes: nor you had loste none of your standardes. Before this time he could neuer glorie of the slaughter of any of our company, only yesterdaie ye gaue him the honour by the death of your fellowes. ¶Then euerie man cried out aloude to him, desirynge pardon of the daie past: and ones againe to trie the herte and courage of his men, when so euer it shulde please him. Nowe (saide he) truely and I wyl proue you againe. for I wil to morowe in the morninge set you forthe in arate, to the intent that ye as vanquishers may aske forgiuenes, rather then as people vanquished.

¶On the morrowe, after that his men had well eaten and dronken, and made theim stronge, when he should put his people in order, he set in the vawarde those that fled first the daye before, and those companies that loste their standardes: and then the other as him best lyked, comaundinge theim all, earnestely to fyghte and to ouercome theyr ennemies: so that the victorie of that present daie might fly and come to Rome, before

ſore the ſclaunder of yeſterdaies flienge.

¶ Whan Annibball herd of the fierſe courage of Marcellus, he ſayd: We haue to do nowe with ſuche an ennemye, as can neyther ſuffre his good fortune nor badde. For yf he ouercom his ennemies, he gredily styl aſſaileth theim: And whan he is ouercome, he alſo fierſly renueth the warres vpon theim. After theſe wordes, he incontinent brought his hoſte further into the fielde, where the battayle was more cruell than it was the daie before. The Carthaginenſes euer ſtryuynge to kepe the honour, and the Romaynes to auenge the ſhame gotten the daie before. The aduauntage of the battayle betweene theim abode longe in ſuſpence. Marcellus, as a preſent witneſſe, was euer redye to comforte and exhorte his Romayns. Annibball, ſeinge the doubtefulneſſe of the fyght and victory, to putte his ennemies to ſodayne feare, cauſed his Elephantes to be ſette agaynſte the forewarde: whyche at the fyrſte comynge, brought theim out of order, and didde theim muche trouble and hurte: wherby the one parte thereof was leſte bare and voyde of reſyſtence, and the reſte had fled alſo, hadde not Decius Flauius a Tribune taken the ſtanderde of one of the bandes of horſemen, commaundynge the company belongynge to the ſame ſtanderde, to folowe hym boldely, whom they obeyde: and he incontinent brought theim, where the company of elephantes dyd moſte diſpleaſure, cauſynge mooſte trouble and rumour. Than badde he theim couragiouſely to throwe theyr dartes and ſpeares at thoſe beaſtes: whyche they dyd, woundynge many of theim: who feelynge theim ſelues hurt, with greatte rage runne away, and coulde not be ſtayed by theim that rode on theim. The Romaynes folowed theim ſtyll, and droue theim vpon theyr owne company of Spanyardes and Carthaginenſes, makynge greatter ſlaughter amonge theim, than they hadde before done to the Romaynes. And whan they ſawe the Carthaginenſes by this meane brought out of array, the Romaine footemen in order entred and brake the aray cleane, puttynge theym to flyght: whō Marcellus cauſed his horſmen to folow. And the chaſe ceaſſed not, tyl they wer driuen into the yates of their campe, with great loſſe bothe of men and of elephantes. There were ſlayne that daye. viii. M. men, and fyue elephantes. Of the Romaines there were ſlayne thre thouſande, and very many

sore hurt. Wherupon Annibal, the next nyght folowinge, remoued vnto the Brutians: and Marcellus abode there a season, to cure his hurt souldiours.

Howe Q. Fabius Maximus recouered from Annibal the citie of Tarent. Cap. xlix.

IN this season Q. Fabius Max. the consul toke Manduria with force, and from thens remoued to Tarent, pytchyng his tentes harde by the mouth of the hauen, where he founde certayne shyppes, whyche Liuius the late consull hadde left there for the defence of other shyppes that brought vytayle and other necessary prouision for the castell. All these shyppes, and also all other that came with vitayles and prouision thyther, he charged some with gunnes and stones, and all kynde of weapons inuasiue, somme he laded with scalyng ladders, and other engyns to assaulte the towne: soo that by the sea al thinges wer ready for the assaulte. And then he by land also ordered his cõpany for the same. Now to help his purpose to be acheued, ther chaunced a small thing in estimation: yet it proued meruailous happy for the successe of his great enterprise. Annibal had sent to Tarent a crue of men of warre of the countrey of the Brutians. The capytayne of this company was meruailously enamored on a yong womã in the citie, whose brother was then souldiour in the host of Fabius, to whom his sister sent worde by letters, of the familiaritie and new acquaintaunce of her earnest louer, and of his greate ryches and honour. Wherupon this man imaginynge, and trustyng also, that the loue of his syster myght leade her louer to do what so euer she wolde diuise, conceyued an hope, to do good therby, touchynge the wynnynge of the towne. Wherupon he secretely opened his mynde to his capitayne Fabius, desyrynge hym, that he woulde lycence hym to departe frome the armye, and to goo in to the citie, whiche he woulde vndertake to dooe, by dissemblynge hym selfe to be stolen away from his company, for the loue of his sister, desyrouse to be a cytezen there. The Consull thynkyng to proue the effecte of his opynyon, suffered hym to departe. Thus came he to his syster, and by her meanes felle in greate familiarite with her louer the capytayne of the Brutianes. And

after

after longe acquayntaunce he beganne couertly to proue his mynde a lyttell and a lyttell. After, whan he founde some towardneſſe in hym, he ſette his ſyſter in hande with hym, who with her fayre and flatterynge woordes ſoo compaſſed hym, that to haue her loue, he conſented to the betrayynge of that parte of the Citie, wherof he was rular and Capytayne.
¶ Whan they were agreed on the tyme, maner, and circumſtaunce of the purpoſe: the ſouldyour ſecretly in the nyghte, was lette furthe out of the towne, and came to his capitayn, declarynge vnto hym what he hadde doone, and what waye he ſhoulde take, to achieue his enterpryſe. At the tyme and houre appoynted, whiche was the begynnynge of the nyght, the Conſull hadde prepared, that on the ſea ſyde in the hauen, his ſhyppes and menne of warre thereto appoynted, ſhoulde vyolentely aſſaulte the towne. And on an other parte the Romaynes in the caſtell, with all theyr force alſo, ſhulde aſſayle the citizens: and he with a good numbre with hym, pryuyly drewe hym to the eaſte parte of the towne, where he abode a longe ſeaſon, withoute makynge any noyſe.
There was greatte noyſe and bruite made purpoſely on the hauen ſyde, and on the ſyde towardes the caſtelle, where leaſte daungier was: Soo that Democrates the capytayne, whyche was than nyghe vnto the crew of Brutians, fearynge leſte in his abſence, the Romaynes myghte chaunce on the other ſyde to wynne the towne, whyche to feare he was moued by the greatte rumour and cryc of the cytezens on that parte. Whan he hearde all thynges quiete and at reſte on that parte of the towne, wherin he was: he with his people haſted towarde the caſtell ſyde, where he hearde the greatteſt noyſe.
¶ Than the conſull, heringe the noyſe ceaſſed of men of armes, whiche before were very loude, iudging that the kepers of that warde were gone from thens: he commanded ſtreight ſcalynge ladders to be ſette to the walles on that ſyde where the Brutians kepte warde, whyche was done without any reſyſtence. For the Brutians not onely made noo reſyſtence, but alſoo holpe theym vp. Thus entred they the towne, and ſtreyghte wente to the nexte gate, the whyche they brake, and cauſed moche of theyr companye to entre with theyr baners dyſplayed. And by the breake of the day, they

came into the markette place. The Tarentines parceyuinge theyr towne to be taken, came with all theyr power frome the castell side, and from the hauen, to the succour therof: but all to late. For after the battayle was a lyttell begonne, they felte theim selues farre vnable to resist the Romaynes. Wherfore anon they fled euery man to his house, or to his friendes house. There wer Nico and Democrates slayne in battayle. Philomenes, the chiefe autour of betrayinge the towne to Annyball, toke his horse and fledde: but whither he wente, or what became of hym, it was not after knowen. Great slaughter was made both of the Carthaginenses and of the Tarentines. Many prisoners were taken, and a ryche spoyle. The wall, whiche Annibal made to deuyde the castell frome the towne, was throwen downe.

¶ Annibal when he fyrste hearde, that Tarent was besieged: he with all hast possible hyed thyther to the succour therof. But when he came nere therynto, and hearde newes of the takynge of the citie, and by what meanes, he sayde: I nowe do ryght well fynde, that the Romaynes haue also an other Annibal amonge theim. For euen by suche crafte as we wanne Tarent, by suche haue we lost it. Then for that it shulde not appeere, that he were reculed for feare, he pitched his campe fyue miles from the citie, where he tarryed certayne dayes: and from thense went to Metapontus, where he caused letters to be written by two of the chiefe rulers of the citie to Fabius. The contentes therof was, that if it woulde please the Romaynes and hym, to receyue theim into theyr grace, and to remitte all theyr olde iniuries and wronges to them doone: they woulde delyuer into his handes, bothe the towne, and also the garnison of the Carthaginenses, which wer within the same. Fabius nothynge mistrustinge, sent to them agayne, appoyntynge a tyme, when he wolde come to Metapontus to speake with them, whiche letters were streyght brought to Annibal. Who beinge very ioyouse, to trayne and deceyue the old wise Fabius, At the tyme appoynted layde a great embusshemente vpon the waye, where Fabius shulde passe to Metapontus.

¶ The same tyme when Fabius shulde departe, he sought by diuinations and auguries, howe he shulde spede in his voiage, as by the kyllyng of a beaste, and therwith to do sacrifyce: and by the lucke of byrdes, as the detestable vse was then, and

longe

longe before had ben amonge the Romaynes. Whiche augu-ries were ſo vnlucky and vntowarde, that they ſhewed to hym ſome euyll aduenture, if he wente forwarde in his appoynted iourney. Wherfore the deuynours or wyſe men aduyſed hym, to tary ſtyll in his tentes, for feare of treaſon.

¶ The Metapontans, ſeing that Fabius came not at the day aſſigned, ſent agayne to hym, requyring hym to come to their capitaynes. Whiche meſſangers were incontinente taken and examyned vpon the caſe. And they fearynge the tourmentes that wer prepared for theim, confeſſed all the deceyte and treſon: wherby Fabius eſcaped his death, and the deſtruction of many of his armye.

¶ Scipio fyghteth with Hasdruball beſyde Betula, dryueth hym from his hyll, ſleith. viii. M. of his hoſt, taketh. xii. M. pryſoners, with Maſſus newew to Maſſaniſſa, and a great praye in the campe. Cap. l.

IN the ſame ſummer tyme, whyles all theſe thynges were done in Italy, P. Scipio beinge in Spayne, had ſo gotten the loue of the ſpanyardes, that Ediſco, Indibilis, and Mandonius, thre great princes of Spayne, were come into his amitie and alliaunce. Indibilis deſired, that their commynge myght not be diſhonorable vnto them, and that no man ſhulde reproche theim after, that they were ſtolen awaye from theyr olde friendes of Carthage, and lyke lyght people were runne to the Romaynes: For he ſayde, they had doone worthely at all tymes for them, whiche theyr kyndeneſſe was euer recompenſed with pryde, auaryce, and many iniuries: ſo that onely theyr bodyes abode in the amitie of Carthage, but theyr hertes hadde longe beene towardes the Romaynes: whom they knewe euer to be kepers of theyr truſe taken, and mainteinours of right and equitie. Wherfore he deſyred Scipio, to receyue theyr friendely commynge vnto hym, accordynge to theyr meanynge and intente: and as he founde them dylygent in theyr ſeruyce doynge vnto him, ſo to eſteme them. Scipio hertely thanked them, grauntynge theyr requeſtes in all thynges. Wheruppon theyr wyues and chyldren were reſtored vnto theim, whiche before were captyues with Scipio: and a ſtedfaſte alliaunce of amitie was knytte betwene theim.

And sone after theyr hole power of men of war came to these princes, and ioyned in campe with the Romaynes, not departinge from them, but guided them euer, tyl they brought them nere the campe of theyr ennemies.

¶ By this meane was the armye greatly increaced. Yet besydes this, by one other waye Scipio politikely augmented his host. For when he sawe no nauy of Carthage was on the sea, so that he neded not to haue any great noumbre of men in his shyppes: he broughte his hoole nauye to Tarracon, takynge all the souldiours, whiche were in theim, and also the more parte of his maryners, with hym in the warres by lande. With this great hooste he wente forwardes, and made suche spede, that secretly he came nere vnto the towne of Betula, where Hasdruball laye with his armye. At theyr fyrste commynge thyther, certeyne smalle skyrmysshes were made betwene theim. But Hasdruball, seynge the Romaynes power dayly increased, and his to be made lesse, thoughte he woulde ieoparde to fyghte without lenger prolongynge of tyme. But he determyned to seeke a place of strengthe, where he myght fyghte to his aduauntage, and to the more hurte of his ennemyes. Wherfore in the nyghte he remoued his armye to an hyghe hyll, nere adioynynge. In the toppe wherof there was a fayre large playne: on the backe syde of this hyll, there ranne a ryuer, whiche compassed a good parte of the hyll. Furthermore aboute the myddes of this hyll, was there an other playne fyelde, moche lower than the other playne: vnto the which nether playne, the ascendyng was hard and peinfull. Into this lower fyelde Asdruball, the day folowyng, sent a great numbre of Numidian horsemen, and other light harnessed fotemen of Affrica, and of the iles called Baleares, nowe named Maiorque and Minorque.

¶ Scipio rydynge aboute his hoste, shewed theim theyr ennemyes. Theyr hertes (saythe he) wyll not serue theym to fyghte with vs on euen grounde. Wherfore they seeke out hyghe mountaynes, trustynge more to the strengthe of the place, then to theyr owne strengthe or armour. Newe Carthage hadde hye walles, whiche neuertheless was scaled by my Romayne souldyours. Neyther coulde the hyghe hylles, nor the castell thereof, nor yet the sea withstande theyr power. I knowe (saythe he) that these hye places, whiche our

ennemies

ennemyes haue choſen, they thynke ſhall ſerue theym, to flye from vs, by leapynge and runnyng downe the ſtiepeneſſe therof. But that wayes I wyll alſo ſtoppe frome theim. Whereupon incontinente Scipio ſente two companies of his menne of warre, commaundynge the one to kepe the mouthe of the valley, by whiche the ryuer ranne: and that the other ſhulde abyde ſecretely on the waye, that laye by the bowinge of the mountayne, betwene the towne of Betula and the fyeldes: And he hym ſelfe, with a good noumbre of nymble harneſſed men, wente ſtreyghte towardes theſe Numidians and Affricanes, whiche were on the lower playne of the hyll: whoo ſuffered theim to come almooſte vppe withoute let, ſaue onely of the ſtyepeneſſe of the hylle, vntyll they came within the caſtynge of dartes. Thenne was the fyghte ſoore on bothe partes, but ſpecially great plenty of ſtoones and other inginnes was throwen from the hyll on the Romaines. Neuertheleſſe althoughe the hylle was verye tedioule and harde to be wonne, and they alſo almooſte ouerwhelmed with ſtones: yet they beinge nymble and well harted men, and moche vſed to the approchynge and ſcalynge of walles, ceaſſed not to goo ſtyll vppewarde, tyll the formooſte of theym hadde gotten the playne and euen grounde. They anone putte the Numidyans to flyghte, and with greatte ſlaughter droue theym vppe to theyr armye, that abode in the hygheſte parte of the hyll. Thenne Scipio commaunded the ſame his companye to go ſtreyghte vppe after towarde the myddle of theyr ennemyes. The reſt of his hoſte he deuyded in two partes, wherof he cauſed Lelius to take the one halfe, and with them to go aboute on the ryght hande of the hyll, to eſpy where he myghte fynde a more eaſye place for them to aſcende. He with the other parte kept on the lefte hande, And ere euer he had fette any farre compaſſe, clambe vp the ſayde mountayne, and ran on his ennemyes, whoſe backes then wer toward him, wherwith the hoſt of the Carthaginenſes was ſore troubled, and great clamour was made, inforcynge them to tourne them to reſyſt Scipio and his company, and to chaunge theyr ordre, whiche they were in before. In all this troublous bruite came Lelius on theym on the other ſide, whoſe coming cauſed the foreward to gyue backe, for feare to be inuaded behynde, by meane wherof, the myddell warde of

Scipio

Scipio gotte them the hylle, whyche before was not possible for theim to haue wonne, the army & elephantes kepyng their aray, the place was so stiepe to ascend. Then began the Carthaginenses to flee for their sauegard. there was great slaughter made among them that abode, by Scipio and his company: and of those that fledde, many were receyued by the. ii. companies, which were before layde in embusshement for the same purpose: so that there were slayne to the numbre of. viii. M. men. Asdruball seing the beginning of the battaile nothing prosperous after his intent, sent his money, and many of his elephantes away before him; and he folowed after with as many as coulde saue them selues with flieng: and passyng the ryuer of Tagus, went streight toward the mountains of Pyreneis. ¶ Scipio, comynge to the campe of the Carthaginenses, gaue all the pray therof to his souldiours, except the prisoners, which wer in numbre. x. thousand fotemen, and. ii. M. horsemen: of whiche numbre, soo many as were Spanyardes, he let go at lybertie freely, without raunsome paying: the rest he caused to be sold by the Questor. Than gaue he large gyftes to the princis of Spayn, specially to Indibilis he gaue. iii. C. horses, the beste he coulde chuse of all that were taken. Through whiche his liberall distribution, the communes of Spayne called hym kyng: whyche name, Scipio declared to them, that it was very odious and detestable to the Romans. Wherfore he desyred them, to absteyne from callyng hym by that name. For with the name of gouernour or capitayne, he was well contented.

¶ Whan the Questor was about to sell the prysoners by the capitaynes commaundement, among other he found a goodly yonge chylde of. xv. yeres olde: whome he sente to Scipio, for that he herd of him, that he was descended of lignage roial. Of whom Scipio enquired, what he was, & of what countrey, and how he, being of no greatter age, happened to be in the campe amonge men of warre. He aunswered, that he was of Numidia, and was named Massus. His father (he sayd) was deade. Wherfore his mother sent him to her father Sala kinge of Numidia, and frome that time he had ben brought vp with his vncle Massanissa. And when his vncle came ouer into Spaine, to the socour of the Carthaginenses, he came also with him. But euer when he went to any batteil, his vncle

woulde

wolde not ſuffer hym to go with him. So that before this time (he ſayde) he neuer came in the fyelde. And nowe it was alſo vnware to his ſayde vncle. But when euery man made hym re dye, he priuely alſo toke an horſe and harneies, and entered the battayle with them. But his chaunce was ſo euyll, that he had nowe a faule from his horſe, wherby he was taken of the Romaynes. Scipio demaunded of hym, whether he were not deſyrous to retourne to Maſſaniſſa. To whom he aunſwered, wepynge for ioye, that he wolde be verye glad, if his chaunce were ſo good. Then Scipio gaue him a ringe of golde, a cote, a ſenatours garmente, a ſpanyſſhe cloke, a goodly horſe, well harneyſed, and a buckle of golde, and ſuffered hym to de= parte to his vncle at his pleaſure, appoyntynge him horſe= menne to conducte hym on the waye, ſo farre as he woulde haue theim.

¶ After theſe thynges done, he beſtowed the reſte of the ſummer in receyuynge many people and Cities of Spayne in to the amitie of the Romaynes, and remayned at Tar= racon.

¶ Sone after the battayle foughte at Betula, the other Aſ= druball, the ſonne of Gyſgon, and Mago with theyr armyes came frome the further parte of Spayne, to the helpe of the other Aſdruball: but all to late. For the battayle was paſte before theyr comynge. Wherfore they conſulted, what was beſte be doone. At the laſte, conſyderynge that Sci= pio, by gyftes and his lyberalytye, hadde won the hertes of the hyther partes of Spayne, and that onely the peo= ple of the furtheſte parte of the countreye towardes the Gades or pyllers of Hercules, knewe as yet nothynge of hym, nor of the Romaynes, wherfore they were ſure fren= des to the Carthaginenſes: they determyned, that of neceſ= ſytie they muſte remoue all theyr ſouldiours of Spayne, ey= ther to the furtheſte partes of Spayne, or elles into Fraunce: or elles in ſhorte ſpace they woulde all turne to the frendſhip of the Romaynes.

¶ They alſo agreed, that Aſdruball, takynge with hym al the Spanyardes out of Spayne, and farre from the name of Sci= pio, ſhulde go ouer the mountaynes with them towardes An= niball into Italy, where the heade and chiefe grounde of the warres was.

¶ Furthermore, that Mago, leauinge his hoſt with Aſdrubal the ſonne of Gyſgon, ſhuld paſſe ouer the ſea into the iles called Baleares, nowe called Maiorque and Minorque, with a great ſumme of money, where he ſhulde alſo hyre many mo ſouldiours for theyr helpe in this purpoſe. After whoſe departyng, Aſdruball, the ſonne of Gyſgon, with all his hoſt, was appointed to depart into Portugall, and that he ſhoulde in no wyſe fyght with the Romayns. Than had Maſſanuſſa. iii. M. of the beſt and lighteſt horſes and men appoynted to be with hym: with whiche numbre he was aſſigned to perуſe and ryde abrode the countreys, helping the cities, frendes of the Carthaginenſes, and to ſpoile and diſtroy the townes and fieldes of their ennemies. With theſe intentes and myndes euery one of the capitaines departed from other, makyng greate ſpede to achieue their enterpryſe.

¶ Marcellus the Conſull is ſlayn by an imbuſhement layde by Annibal, Criſpinus the other conſull, and Marcellus ſonne be ſooze hurte. Capi li.

The fame of Scipio dayly encreaſed at Rome. Alſo Q. Fabius Maximus had gotten greate honour by wynnynge the towne of Tarent. But Marcellus by meane of ennemies was runne in great infamy. For it was reported, that Annibal rouyng abrode in the countrey, he kept hys hoſt in the ſommer ſeaſon in the towne of Uenuſia. Marcellus to purge hym of this ſclanderous name came to Rome, againſte the tyme of chuſynge of offycers. Thyther came alſoo Q. Fuluius Flaccus the conſull. There was the cauſe of Marcellus openly debated. And C. Bibulus, one of the Tribunes, charged hym ſooze, ſayeng, that the negligence of Marcellus, and other ſuche lyke, was the cauſe of Anniballes ſo longe abode in Italy. This is (ſayd he) the tenthe yere, ſens he came fyrſt into this countrey. He hath lyued almoſt as long in Italy, as he hath done in Carthage. At the choſyng of officers, ye wylled M. Claudius Marcellus to continue a yere longar in his office: and nowe if ye wyll knowe the fruite that he hath brought forth this yere, by the meane therof, ye ſhall vnderſtande, that he hath his hooſte two tymes beaten, and many of them ſlayne this yere. And in the chiefe of ſommer,

he

he hath kepte the reſydue of his men at Uenuſia, within the ſure walles of the ſame.

¶ To this accuſation Marcellus ſo wyſely and ſobrely aunſwered, ſhewynge his policies and his actes doone agaynſte Annibal, that his excuſe was not onely welle taken, but alſo for his well dooinge, the daye folowynge he was, by the hole conſent of the people, choſen conſull: And Titus Quintus Criſpinus was choſen to be his felowe. They both were appoynted to kepe Italy agaynſte Annibal. Marcellus wente to his olde army to Uenuſia, takyng with hym dyuers other, to ſupplye the places of thoſe that were before ſlayne. Criſpinus ſeinge the honour that was growen to Fabius by wynnyng of Tarent, thoughte to beſyege the citie of Locrus. Wherfore he ſent for all maner of ordynances to Sicilia, with ſhyppes alſo to aſſault the ſame by ſea as well as by land. But hearinge of the cominge of Annibal to Lacinium, he lefte his pourpoſe for a ſeaſon, and ioyned his hoſte with his felowe Marcellus, who as than was come from Uenuſia into the countrey of Apulia, where they bothe incamped their armies. iii. myles the one frome the other. Thyther came alſo Annibal ſoone after that he parceyued the conſull Criſpinus hadde lefte of his beſiegynge of the Locrenſes, and in the ſame cuntrey pytched his campe and tentes. He had the yere before aſſayed the power and herte of Marcellus, ſometyme with wynnyng, ſometyme with loſſe of men. Wherefore fearynge with the power of bothe the conſulles to be ouermatched, he than diuyſed, howe with policies and craft to deceiue them. The conſulles made dyuers ſkyrmyſhes with his men, thinkyng with ſuche tryflynge frayes to paſſe furthe the ſommer, and to kepe hym occupied: Yet neuertheleſſe, they truſted to be ſtronge ynough alſo for the beſiegynge of Locrus. Wherfore they ſent to Sicilia, cauſyng L. Lincius, with his nauy and army, to come to the beſiegynge of Locrus by the ſea. Furthermore to aſſayle it alſo by lande, they commaunded part of the army, whiche laye for the defence of Tarent, to be brought thyther. This appoyntement was not ſo pryuyly done, but that Annibal hadde knowledge therof by certayne of the Thurines. Whervppon agaynſte the tyme appoynted of theyr comynge, he ſent an embuſſhement of two thouſande horſemen, and thre thouſande footemen, to lye

secretely vnder the hylle of Petillia, vppon the way, wherby the Romayne Tarentines shoulde passe. The Romaynes vnaduysedly passyng by the waye, were amonge them to their great hurtes: for two thousande of theim were there slayne, and one. M. and two hundred taken prysoners, the rest that escaped, fledde by dyuers waies backe agayne to Tarent. The consulles laye in theyr seuerall campes, not farre frome the campe of Annibal. Nowe was there in the myddell waye betwene the Romaynes campe and hym, a greatte hylle, full of woodde, not taken nor viewed by any of them both. The Romayns feared for to viewe it, for that they doubted, what maner of grounde the vttermooste parte thereof was towarde theyr enemies. Neither was it viewed of Annibal: for that he estemed the same to be a place more mete for to deceiue his ennemies, than for to pytche theron his campe. Wherefore he in the nyght sent thither a company of Numidian horsemen to lye pryuily in the myddell of the wood, without mouynge or makynge any noyse in the daie tyme, for feare to be espied. The Romaynes euer cryed to theyr capytaynes, that they shoulde take the sayde hylle, and pytche there, one of theyr campes, for feare leste Annibal shoulde take it before theim. Than said Marcellus to his felowe Crispinus, lette vs then, with a certaine horsemen with vs, go viewe the same hyll: by the syghte whereof, we maye dispose all thynges accordyngely. Beynge thus agreed, they takyng with them. ii. hundred and. xx. horsemen, wente bothe to surucy the sayde hylle and wood. Whom yonge Marcellus, the consuls sonne, and Aulus Manlius beinge bothe tribunes, folowed. So couetous was the mynde of Marcellus to ioyne battaile with Annibal, that he thoughte he coulde neuer ioyne his campe nyghe ynough to the campe of his ennemye. Wherefore at his departynge, he caused his people to be in a redynesse: that in case the place lyked theim, that they myghte gather vp the vesselles, and all theyr stuffe, and folowe theim frome theyr campes.

¶ The capytaynes passed thorough a lyttell playne fielde, and frome thense they entred into a fayre brode waye or rydynge, whyche wente vp into the woodes. At the toppe of this rydynge, the Numidians hadde sette an espy to watche, not thynkynge of any soo greate a praye as happed theim to

comer

come: but onely to watche for forrageours or wood caryars, that ſhoulde happe to roue abrode for vytayles, wood, or ſuche neceſſaries. This eſpye warned theym of the Romaynes commynge, and of the numbre, and gaue theim a ſygne, whan euery man of theim ſhoulde leape oute of his ſecrete denne: whyche he craftyly executed. For he gaue theym not the ſygne to iſſue oute, tyll the Romaynes were ſoo farre paſſed in theyr waie, that the hyndermoſte parte of the embuſſhement myght incloſe theim, and ſtoppe theyr waye behynde theim, by that tyme the formoſte of the embuſhement aſſayled theim before. Than on all partes they iſſued out, and layde on the Romaynes. The conſulles ſeynge theim ſelues ſtopped, bothe before and behynde, foughte manfullye theym ſelues, and comforted theyr fellowes, thynkynge to prolonge the battayle tylle ſuccours myghte come to them. But the other were ſoo fierſe, that parte of the Romaynes fledde. Neuer the leſſe the reſte foughte for a ſeaſon, tylle they ſawe Criſpinus ſoore wounded, and his felowe Marcellus, thruſte thorough with a ſpeare, falle deade to the grounde. Thanne the reſte that were left on lyue fledde with Criſpinus the Conſull, who was ſoore hurte with two dartes, and yonge Marcellus, beynge alſo ſoore wounded. Aulus Manlius was there ſlayne, with Marcus Aulius, and foure and forty other horſemen. Arenius, with fyue ſergeantes of the conſulles, and eyghtene other horſemen, were taken priſoners.

Annibal craftily ſendeth lettters to Galapia, ſealed with Marcellus ſygnet. Aſdrubal paſſeth the mountayns with his army, to mete his brother Annibal. Cap. lii.

ANNIBALL knowynge that greatte feare woulde be in the Romayne hooſte, by the deathe of the one Conſulle, and alſo by the woundynge of the other: to putte theym to further feare, he incontynent remoued his hooſte into the ſame hylle, where the battayle hadde beene before, where he pytched his Campe. There founde he the bodye of

Marcellus, whiche he caused to be buryed. Crispinus beinge sore feared with the deathe of his fellowe, and also with his owne woundes: in the nyght folowynge remoued secretelye his armye into the highest and nexte hyll, that he for his suertie coulde fynde, there pitchinge his campe and tentes. Both the capitaines endeuoured them selues, to the vttermost, the one to deceyue, and the other to eschewe deceite.

¶ Annibal, with the bodye of Marcellus, founde also his ringe, with his sygnet: wherby he trusted to worke deceytfull conclusions. Crispinus mystrustinge also the same, sente with spede worde to all the cities of the Romaynes, nere adioyninge, warnynge theim, that his felowe Marcellus was slayne, and that Annibal had gotten his signet. Wherfore he commanded theim, in no wyse to gyue credence to any letters that shulde be sente vnto them, sealed with the seale of Marcellus, or made in his name. Soone after a messanger came to Salapia from Annibal, with letters written and sealed in the name of Marcellus: shewynge vnto them, that the nyght folowynge Marcellus wolde priuely come thyther. Wherfore he commaunded the capitaynes and garrison to be redy at his commynge, to knowe his further pleasure, what was to be done. The Salapiens fyndynge crafte in the wrytynge, sente backe the messangers to Annibal with gentyll answere. And they the nyghte prefyxed, sette sure watche and warde on the walles, specially on that parte of the towne, and at that gate, where they demed their ennemyes wolde come. A lyttell before the daye came Annibal, with a great company with hym. The first company that cam to the yates, was of Romans, that wer departed from the cuntrey, & taken in wages by Annibal. They had all Romayne armour, and when they came to the gate, they spake laten, as dydde the Romaynes, wakynge the watchemen, and byddynge them to open the gate to the consull. The watche arose, and with great leuers lyft vp the port colyes soo hyghe, that men myghte entre vnder it. Then the sayde bande of Romaynes runawayes, entered so fast as they myght. But when they were entred, to the numbre of. vi. C. of them, the rope, whiche dyd holde vp the portcolyes, was let slyp, and fell downe with great noyse makynge. The Salapiens, with smalle resystence, slewe them that were entred the towne. For that they, mystrustinge no suche thyng, bare their

harnesse

harneys hanginge on theyr ſhulders, thynkyng to haue entred with peace. Many of the towne with ſpeares and dartes, chaſed theyr ennemyes from the gate and walles.

¶ Thus Anniball, beinge taken in his owne trappe, was deceyued: and from thenſe departed, to rayſe the ſyege of his friendes the Locrenſis, whom Cincius, with his ſouldiours and ordynaunce, that came from Sicilia, kept very harde and strayghte.

¶ Mago was in the citie, who herynge of the death of Marcellus, toke ſome comforte vnto hym. But when he harde tydynges, that Anniball had ſente his Numidian horſemen before him, and was coming hym ſelfe after with his fotemen, as ſpedely as he myght, he was then without feare. Wherfore when he eſpyed afarre of the Numidians approchyng, he cauſed the gate to be opened, and in arraye with his folke iſſued out vpon the Romaynes. His ſodeyne comyng on them, more then his ſtrengthe, cauſed the battayle to endure for a ſeaſon doubtefull. But when the Numidians were alſo come, the Romaynes were ſo ſtryken with feare, that withoute ordre they ranne towarde theyr ſhyppes, leauynge behynde theym all theyr ordynaunce, wherwith they had beaten the walles. And by this meane was the ſyege of the Locrenſis rayſed.

¶ Criſpinus the conſull ſente letters to Rome, bothe of his felowes deathe, and alſo of his ſore hurtes: which letted him ſo, that he could not come to Rome to the choſyng of the conſuls. The ſenatours were very penſyfe, to ſe two conſuls armies deſtitute of capitaynes. Wherfore at the day of the election, they loked about, to fynd two wiſe and circumſpect perſons for that offyce, who had ben acqueynted with the deceites of Anniball. Fyrſte they aboue other lyked L. Claudius Nero, whom they knewe to be a valyaunt man, and a good capytayne. But they eſtemed hym to be to quicke for that tyme of the warres, and to matche that ſoobre capytayne Anniball. Wherfore they deuyſed to match his quickenes, with a ſobre felowe of great temperance. Then was there one M. Liuius, a man of great ſobreneſſe, late come agayne into the citie. He had before ben conſull about. viii. yeres paſſed, and in his conſulſhyppe was condempned by the comons, without fault: and put out of his offyce. Which ſhame to hym done, he toke ſo diſpleaſauntly, that leauynge the citie, he wente forthe into

the

the countrey, to dwell out of the company of men. And. viii. yeres after his condempnation, M. Marcellus, and M. Valerius Leuinus the consulles, brought hym home agayne into the citie: but they founde hym foule and euyll apparellyd, his heare and beard longe, as a token of his shame receiued. But at this time the censors caused hym to rounde his heare, and puttynge on other cleane garmentes, to come in to the senate house. When he was brought thyther, and the fathers were examyned of their opinions of M. Liuius, touchyng the office of consull: They agreed all, both senatours and the commons, that it were a mete couple of hym and Claudius Nero. But he alone refused the office, accusyng the citezens of their vnkynde lyghtnesse, sayinge:

¶ I meruayle moche, ye laye nowe the burthen of this office on me, whom ye of late thruste oute of that same office, thynkyng me vnworthy therof. If ye accompt me to be a good and an honeste man, why then dyd ye condempne me as an euyll man, and as an offender? And syns ye iudged, that I cuill gouerned the consulshyp, wherin I laste was: why truste ye me nowe agayne with the same roume?

¶ With such wordes he accused the fathers and also the commons. But the senatours rebuked hym for his wordes, shewinge him the example of M. Furius Camillus, which though he were banyshed the citie of Rome, yet was he after restored agayne: For (sayd they) lyke as the childe ought to suffer the sharpe punishement of his father: so ought euery man to suffer the punishement of his countrey, with pacience and gentilnes.

¶ With these wordes they appeased hym, and caused hym to take on hym the sayde office.

¶ The one consull was appoynted to kepe the warre againste Anniball in Italy, leste he shulde drawe nere to Asdruball, cominge from the mountaynes to his succour: The other was assygned to mete Asdruball, the fame of whome was, that he beganne to approche the mountaynes, to thintent to come ouer, to ioyne his power with his brother Anniball. The opynion of Anniball dyd also moche helpe the Romaynes in this purpose. For although he knewe, that his brother woulde that sommer passe the mountaynes, to come ouer to hym: yet whan he remembred the manyfold lettes that he had him selfe, as in passynge the ryuer of Rhodanus, and then the dangerus

mountaynes

mountaynes, stryuinge bothe with men and perylous places, wherin he had spent fyue monethes, he loked not for so spedye and quicke coming of his brother. whiche caused hym to be so long, er euer he remoued frō the place, where he wintred with his army. But in this he was moche deceiued. For Asdruball had better spede in his passage, then he loked for him selfe. For the frenchemen, and also the mountaynors, dyd not onely receiue him, and suffered hym with his army to passe their countreys: but also they folowed him to the warres, leadinge him many sure wayes, whiche to Annibal his brother, were then vnable to be passed. Agayne, the wayes ouer the mountaynes, by the continuall vse of goinge ouer them, were made moche more easy then they were, and the people more gentyll to intreate. For before Annibals comynge, they were not vsed to the company of straungers, neyther had sene any before in the countrey. wherfore they were wylde and sauage people. They thoughte also at the fyrste tyme, that the Carthaginenses had come to take theyr castelles and cattell from them. But nowe the fame of the warre holden in Italy, betwene the Romaynes and the Carthaginenses, taught them, and made them to know, that the hole contention betwen those noble head cities of the worlde, beinge so farre distant a sundre, was onely for the honour and for riches: so that they wolde trye, whether of them shulde possede the dominion of the hole.

¶ These causes knowen, made the mountaynes open and easy for Asdruball to passe: but his speede was not so good in passynge the same, as his let was great in the besieginge of Placentia. Whan he was come ouer, he had thought the citie, beinge in a faire plaine countrey, had ben easy to wynne: and by the fame of the wynnynge therof, he thoughte all other cities adioyninge, shulde haue trembled for feare. But the strength therof moche deceyued him, and that knewe Annibal full wel. For when he came ouer the riuer of Trebia, he in vayne had assayed the strength therof. So that Asdrubals assieginge of Placentia was not onely a lette of his owne iourneye: but also it stayed Annibal moche longer: after he harde therof, ere euer he sette forthe of the place, where he wyntered with his hoste.

¶ The consulles with theyr armyes went to their prouinces, M. Liuius towardes Placentia, whome ere he departed,

Q. Fabius warned and exhorted, that he shulde not ouer hastyly fyght with his ennemies, before he knewe the maners and conditions of theim. To whom Liuius, remaynynge yet in dyspleasure towarde his citezens for his banyshement, answered: that he wolde fyght with theim so soone as he might haue syght of them. Whan the cause was demaunded of hym, why he wolde make therin suche haste: Truely (sayd he) eyther I wyll quyckely haue great honour, by subduinge myne ennemyes, or els greatte ioye, by the sleynge of myne owne vnkynde cytezens. Whyche ioye althoughe it be to me not honeste: yet shall it be accordyng to theyr deseruynges.

¶ Quintus Claudius Nero made haste, tyll he approched nere vnto Annibal: who as than was gone into the countrey of the Lucanes, and lay by the towne of Grument. Claudius hadde in his army forty thousande fotemen, and two thousand and fyue hundred horsemen: Annibal gatherynge togyther as moche power as he coulde amonge the Brutians, and from suche fortresses as he than helde: lay incamped nigh vnto the walles of Grument: and within halfe a myle of them was the campe of the Romaynes. Betwene bothe the campes there was a goodly playne valey, hauynge on the oone syde fayre playne hylles, without any wooddes or couerte, for to hyde any embusshement, or cause deceyte. Wherfore it was the lesse suspecte to bothe parties. These hylles laye adioynyng to the lefte syde of the Carthaginenses, and to the ryghte syde of the Romaynes. In the playne medowe were many lyght eskyrmyshes made betweene the hostes, and many excursyons the Romayne consull caused to be made onely to kepe his ennemyes there frome goynge towarde Asdruball.

¶ On the other syde Annibal, desyrous to remoue out of that place with all his power intended to gyue hym battaile. Wherfore he putte his whole hoste in array. Claudius Nero, perceyuynge his intent, caused secretely the nyght folowynge, Titus Asellus, and P. Claudius two tribunes, with a good noumbre of men with theim, to passe ouer the sayde hylle, adioynynge, and to abyde in the valeye behynde the hylles, appoyntynge theim a tyme, whan they shoulde descende from the mountayne on the backe of theyr ennemies. He hym selfe in the breake of the daye, with the reste of his

footemen and horſemen, came into the fielde in good araye. Annibal lykewyſe commaunded his men to arme theim, and greate noyſe was made in the campe, euery man runnynge to harneys. And whan they were armed, they ranne oute of the campe yates, bothe horſemen and footemen, without araye before Annibal had knowledge therof. And as ſoone as they were out of the Campe in the playne, they ranne to their ennemyes, fyghtynge bothe on horſebacke and on foote, as chaunce gaue theym to meete with their ennemies, kepynge none order.

¶ Whan the Conſull ſawe theym thus rounnynge abrode in the fyelde without order, he commaunded L. Arunculeus, with the horſemen of a legyon, to inuade the Carthaginenſes, with as moche vyolence as he myght: wherby he myght ſlea theym, beinge without order lyke beaſtes, before they coulde be brought in array. Whyche he dydde dilygently execute, makynge greate ſlaughter. The battayle was ſtrong for a ſeaſon, by reaſon of contynuall reſorte of freſhe ſouldiours, runnyng to the ſuccours of their felowes.

¶ Annibal, being yet in his campe, hearyng the noyſe of his men fyghtyng, came furthe with the reſte of his power, and ſo dilygently applyed him ſelfe: that euen as his menne were fyghtynge, he put many of theym in araye. Whiche thynge hath not bene lyghtly ſeene, and therein he ſhewed hym ſelfe to be an experte capytayne, hauyng olde and well acquaynted warryours vnder hym. And thus had he brought his wholle hoſte in order, as they were ſtyll fyghtyng: had not L. Aſſellus, with his bandes of Romaynes, ſodainely deſcended from the hylles, at the backe of the Carthaginenſes, with greate clamour: By the meanes wherof, they beyng aferde leſt they ſhuld be ſtopped from their campe, began to flee on all partes. The horſemen ſlewe many of them in the chaſe: and many mo had been ſlayne, had not the campe been ſo nere at hande. Yet loſt Annibal of his men at that battayle. viii. M. which were ſlayne, and. vii. C. taken aliue. The next day, and diuers days after, the Romains in array kept the fielde, deſyrous to fight, but the Carthaginenſes abode ſtyll in their tentes.

¶ Soone after in the nyght, Annibal, with his army, remoued towardes Apulia, makinge great fyres before the campe, towardes the Romaynes, and leauynge in the entree of his

campe, certayne Numydian horsemen for a shewe, tyl he with his hooste myght be farre gone frome his ennemyes. Whan it was day lyght, the sayd Numidians shewed theim selues in the gate of the campe for a season, purposely to deceyue the Romaines: and whan they sawe theyr tyme, they spedily rode after theyr companie.

¶ Than the consull, hearynge noo noyse in the tentes of his ennemyes, sent two light horsmen to viewe theyr campe, who fyndynge it voyde of theyr ennemies, retourned to Claudius, certifiynge hym of theyr departyng. Wherypon he with his hoste wente thyther, and toke the spoyle of suche baggage as was there lefte: and on the morowe early folowed the Carthaginenses, by the fame that they hearde of their waie, by whiche they were gone. Annibal, no more willynge to fyght, toke his waie euer in the nyght, and ouer the mountaynes, tyl he came to Metapontus: where he toke of Banno, the soudiours, whyche were there lefte, and ioyned theim to his armye, sendynge hym with a smalle numbre with hym, into the countrey of the Brutians, there to assemble moo men of warre to his succour.

¶ Of the great battayle betwene Asdrubal and the consulles, in whyche Asdrubal was slayne, with syx and fyfty thousand men, besyde many that were taken, with a great spoyle. Cap. liiii.

ASdrubal, leauing his further assiegyng of Placentia, sent foure frenchemen, and two Numidians to his brother Anniball with letters: who passyng all Italy, heryng that Anniball shoulde then be at Metapontus, folowed him thither: But er they were ware, they lost their way, and came to the fieldes of Tarent, where they were taken, and sent to Claudius Nero with their letters. Who whan he had redde them, and knewe by the contentes therof, that Asdrubal intended to mete his brother in Umbria, thynkyng then to be no tyme mete for the common welth, to tary the determination of the senate: he imagyned, that he would enterpryse some strange thing, wherby he shulde put both the citezens of Rome, and also his ennemies in great feare. But at lengthe, whan

whan it was achieued, it shulde tourne the wholle citie from greate feare into meruailous gladnesse. Wherfore he sent the sayde letters to Rome, with other his owne letters of his intended enterpryse. And incontinent sente messangers before hym, to all the townes & countreys, by whych he with his army shoulde passe: commaundyng theim to bryng furthe into the fieldes agaynst his comming, vitayles, horses, and other necessaries for his souldyours. Than of his wholle armye he chose out. vi. thousande footemen, and one. M. horsmen: sayinge and publyshyng, that with them he intended to assault the next towne of the Lucans, & to take the Carthaginenses, whi che were there left for the keping therof. With this company in the nyght he departed, makyng as great haste as he myghte in his iourney, to come to the healpe of his felowe Liuius, before he shulde haue to do with Asdruball: leauynge Quintus Tatius in his campe, to rule and gouerne the rest of his hoste. At Rome the consulles letters made all men no lesse aferde, than they were two yeres past, whan the Carthaginenses hadde pytched theyr tentes before the walles of Rome. They doubted, whether they myght allowe or disallowe that bolde enterpryse of the consull, whyche dyd appere to hange all vpon chaunce. They knewe the campe was left very nere to Annibal, with an army dispurueyed of a capitayne: ye and the flowre and strengthe of the same armye was taken awaye with the Capytayne, leauynge his campe sure in nothynge, but onely by the ignoraunce of his ennemies, who were not priuy as then of the consulles absence. But what yf it happed to be knowen, and that it chaunced Annibal with his wholle army to folowe Nero, hauyng with him but. vi. thousand fotemen armed, and one. M. horsemen: or that he wold assaile the reste, which were left in the campe, without strength or good gouernance. The euil chances, which they had before susteined in the warres, with the late dethe of. ii. consuls in one yere, increased their feare, whyche all had happed to theim, whan there was but one capytayne and one army of their ennemies in Italy. Nowe they knewe. ii. myghty armies. ii. valyant capitaines: ye almost. ii. Annballes, to be in the countrey. For Asdruball the sonne also of Amilcar, hadde many yeres in Spayne, made warre agaynste the Romayns, where he had hadde two noble victories, sleynge two greate armies,

and alſo. ii. Scipions, the noble capitayns of the ſame. Furthermore, that he myght glory aboue Annibal, bothe of his ſpedy paſſage ouer the mountaynes, and alſo of drawyng with hym the frenchemen to battayle. For euen where the one had almoſte loſte the greatter parte of his menne, by hungre and colde (whiche two be the greatteſt myſeries of warre): euen there had the other gathered together a gret puiſſance. They reckened alſo, that Claudius Nero ſhuld haue to do with a witty capitayn, whom he knewe before had mocked & illuded hym in Spayne lyke a child, with deceiteful intretyng of conditions of peace: wherby he eſcaped out of the ſtraytes, wherein he was indaungered. Thus throughe feare (whiche is thinterpretour of all thynges to the worſte) they eſtemed the power of theyr ennemyes to be great, and their owne to be ſmall.

¶ In the meane tyme Nero the conſull, after he had ſo farre traueyled frome the daunger of his ennemies, that he iudged he myght ſafely diſcouer his ſecrete enterpriſe: he then called together his ſouldiours, and ſpake vnto them ſayinge:

There was neuer any enterpryſe taken in hande by any capitayne, whiche was in apparence more bolde, and in effect more ſure then this was. For I wyll nowe bringe you (ſayde he) to a certayne and ſure victorye. For we goo to a battayle, for the whiche my felowe Liuius had before as many fotemenne and horſemen appoynted hym of the ſenate, as he wolde deſyre. Ye ſuche a numbre as he wolde not haue deſyred a greatter, if he ſhulde haue ben appoynted to fyght with Annibal hym ſelfe: and nowe, by the fame of the comynge of the other conſull, with his armye, beinge ioyned to the other: we ſhall not fayle to haue an vndoubted victory. For fame is the thynge that gyueth victory in battayle. Yea ſmall thinges oft tymes driue the hertes and myndes of men, eyther in to feare or in to a good hope. And the hole glorye and honour of all the good ſpede ſhall be gyuen to vs. For euer that, whiche cometh laſt, draweth all the honour to it.

¶ With this comforte he led them forward on theyr way, paſſynge by a great multitude of men and women of the countrey, that came forth to mete them with great fauour and prayſe giuynge: namynge them the patrons and defendours of the cõmon welthe, and of the hole empyre of Rome, in whoſe handes then laye the helthe welth and lybertie, bothe of them and of theyr

of theyr children. Wherfore they prayed vnto the goddes for theyr proſperous returne with victory and tryumphe. And in declarynge theyr loue towardes theyr ſouldiours, they offered them cattell, vitayles, and other neceſſarye thynges, whiche they hertely deſyred them to take at theyr pleaſure. And they on the other ſyde, thankefully receiuing that they neded, went on theyr waye, eatynge whan they were hungry, and but ſeldome toke any reſte, tyl they came nere to the campe of the other conſull M. Liuius. Then ſent Claudius meſſangers to his felowe, aduertyſynge hym of his comynge, to knowe his mynd, whether it were beſt for hym and his company, to come to hym pryuely or openly, in the nyght tyme or in the day: and whether he ſhoulde entre into his campe, or make an other campe for hym ſelfe and his army: Liuius anſwered, that beſt it was, he entered into his campe ſecretly in the nyght. For the more ſuertie wherof, he gaue a pryuy watche worde or token, wherby one tribune ſhulde receyue an other, one centurio or hundredour an other, one horſeman an other, and one foteman ſhulde receyue an other. And it was thought, that there was ſpace ynoughe in the fyrſte campe, to receyue hym and his cõpanye, ſenſe thoſe that came with Claudius Nero brought lyttle more with them, but onely theyr armour, for the ſpedineſſe of theyr way. Liuius tentes were then pitched nere to Sena, and Aſdruball reſted not paſt halfe a myle thence. When Nero approched, he couered hym with mountaynes and hylles, tyll it was nyghte. Then keepynge greate ſylence, they entred the campe of Liuius, and were euery man broughte into the tentes by his lyke officer, where they were friendly and gentylly receyued, with great ioye and gladneſſe. L. Portius the pretor had his campe ioynynge to the campe of the conſull.

The daye folowynge they counſayled, what was beſt then to be done. Some gaue aduyſe, that Nero with his company, beinge wery, ſhulde reſte them certayne dayes, and that the battayle ſhulde be differred, tyll they were fully refreſhed of their longe trauayle: and in the meane tyme to knowe the maner of theyr ennemyes. But Nero wolde in noo wyſe agree therto, he inſtantly deſyred them ſo to worke, that his ſecrete enterpryſe, whiche by his ſwyfte comynge thither was made ſure, ſhulde not by theyr long tarying be made folyſhe and voyde.

For Annibal beinge deceyued, kepeth hym cloſe in his tentes,

not

and alſo. ii. Scipions, the noble capitayns of the ſame. Furthermore, that he myght glory aboue Anniball, bothe of his ſpedy paſſage ouer the mountaynes, and alſo of drawyng with hym the frenchemen to battayle. For euen where the one had almoſte loſte the greatter parte of his menne, by hungre and colde (whiche two be the greatteſt myſeries of warre): euen there had the other gathered together a gret puiſſance. They rekened alſo, that Claudius Nero ſhuld haue to do with a witty capitayn, whom he knewe before had mocked & illuded hym in Spayne lyke a child, with deceiteful intretyng of conditions of peace: wherby he eſcaped out of the ſtraytes, wherein he was indaungered. Thus throughe feare (whiche is thinterpretour of all thynges to the worſte) they eſtemed the power of theyr ennemyes to be great, and their owne to be ſmall.

¶ In the meane tyme Nero the conſull, after he had ſo farre traueyled frome the daunger of his ennemies, that he iudged he myght ſafely diſcouer his ſecrete enterpriſe: he then called together his ſouldiours, and ſpake vnto them ſayinge:

There was neuer any enterpryſe taken in hande by any capitayne, whiche was in apparence more bolde, and in effect more ſure then this was. For I wyll nowe bringe you (ſayde he) to a certayne and ſure victorye. For we goo to a battayle, for the whiche my felowe Liuius had before as many fotemenne and horſemen appoynted hym of the ſenate, as he wolde deſyre. Ye ſuche a numbre as he wolde not haue deſyred a greatter, if he ſhulde haue ben appoynted to fyght with Anniball hym ſelfe: and nowe, by the fame of the comynge of the other conſull, with his armye, beinge ioyned to the other: we ſhall not fayle to haue an vndoubted victory. For fame is the thynge that gyueth victory in battayle. Yea ſmall thinges oft tymes driue the hertes and myndes of men, eyther in to feare or in to a good hope. And the hole glorye and honour of all the good ſpede ſhall be gyuen to vs. For euer that, whiche cometh laſt, draweth all the honour to it.

¶ With this comforte he led them forward on theyr way, paſſynge by a great multitude of men and women of the countrey, that came forth to mete them with great fauour and prayſe giuynge: namynge them the patrons and defendours of the cõmon welthe, and of the hole empyre of Rome, in whoſe handes then laye the helthe welth and lybertie, bothe of them and of theyr

of theyr children. Wherfore they prayed vnto the goddes for theyr proſperous returne with victory and tryumphe. And in declarynge theyr loue towardes theyr ſouldiours, they offered them cattell, vitayles, and other neceſſarye thynges, whiche they hertely deſyred them to take at theyr pleaſure. And they on the other ſyde, thankefully receiuing that they neded, went on theyr waye, eatynge whan they were hungry, and but ſeldome toke any reſte, tyl they came nere to the campe of the other conſull M. Liuius. Then ſent Claudius meſſangers to his felowe, aduertyſynge hym of his comynge, to knowe his mynd, whether it were beſt for hym and his company, to come to hym pryuely or openly, in the nyght tyme or in the day: and whether he ſhoulde entre into his campe, or make an other campe for hym ſelfe and his army: Liuius anſwered, that beſt it was, he entered into his campe ſecretly in the nyght. For the more ſuertie wherof, he gaue a pryuy watche worde or token, wherby one tribune ſhulde receyue an other, one centurio or hundredour an other, one horſeman an other, and one foteman ſhulde receyue an other. And it was thought, that there was ſpace ynoughe in the fyrſte campe, to receyue hym and his cōpanye, ſenſe thoſe that came with Claudius Nero brought lyttle more with them, but onely theyr armour, for the ſpedineſſe of theyr way. Liuius tentes were then pitched nere to Sena, and Aſdruball reſted not paſt halfe a myle thence. When Nero approched, he couered hym with mountaynes and hylles, tyll it was nyghte. Then kepynge greate ſylence, they entred the campe of Liuius, and were euery man broughte into the tentes by his lyke officer, where they were friendly and gentylly receyued, with great ioye and gladneſſe. L. Portius the pretor had his campe ioynynge to the campe of the conſull. The daye folowynge they counſayled, what was beſt then to be done. Some gaue aduyſe, that Nero with his company, beinge wery, ſhulde reſte them certayne dayes, and that the battayle ſhulde be differred, tyll they were fully refreſhed of their longe trauayle: and in the meane tyme to knowe the maner of theyr ennemyes. But Nero wolde in noo wyſe agree therto, he inſtantly deſyred them ſo to worke, that his ſecrete enterpryſe, whiche by his ſwyfte comynge thither was made ſure, ſhulde not by theyr long tarying be made folyſhe and voyde. For Annibal beinge deceyued, kepeth hym cloſe in his tentes,

not

and also. ii. Scipions, the noble capitayns of the same. Furthermore, that he myght glory aboue Anniball, bothe of his spedy passage ouer the mountaynes, and also of drawyng with hym the frenchemen to battayle. For euen where the one had almoste loste the greatter parte of his menne, by hungre and colde (whiche two be the greatteſt myseries of warre): euen there had the other gathered togethere a gret puissance. They reckened also, that Claudius Nero shuld haue to do with a witty capitayn, whom he knewe before had mocked & illuded hym in Spayne lyke a child, with deceiteful intretyng of conditions of peace: wherby he escaped out of the straytes, wherein he was indaungered. Thus throughe feare (whiche is thinterpretour of all thynges to the worste) they estemed the power of theyr ennemyes to be great, and their owne to be small.

¶ In the meane tyme Nero the consull, after he had so farre traueyled frome the daunger of his ennemies, that he iudged he myght safely discouer his secrete enterprise: he then called togethere his souldiours, and spake vnto them sayinge:

There was neuer any enterpryse taken in hande by any capitayne, whiche was in apparence more bolde, and in effect more sure then this was. For I wyll nowe bringe you (sayde he) to a certayne and sure victorye. For we goo to a battayle, for the whiche my felowe Liuius had before as many fotemenne and horsemen appoynted hym of the senate, as he wolde desyre. Ye suche a numbre as he wolde not haue desyred a greatter, if he shulde haue ben appoynted to fyght with Anniball hym selfe: and nowe, by the fame of the comynge of the other consull, with his armye, beinge ioyned to the other: we shall not fayle to haue an vndoubted victory. For fame is the thynge that gyueth victory in battayle. Yea small thinges oft tymes driue the hertes and myndes of men, eyther in to feare or in to a good hope. And the hole glorye and honour of all the good spede shall be gyuen to vs. For euer that, whiche cometh last, draweth all the honour to it.

¶ With this comforte he led them forward on theyr way, passynge by a great multitude of men and women of the countrey, that came forth to mete them with great fauour and prayse giuynge: namynge them the patrons and defendours of the cō-mon welthe, and of the hole empyre of Rome, in whose handes then laye the helthe welth and lybertie, bothe of them and of theyr

of theyr children. Wherfore they prayed vnto the goddes for theyr prosperous returne with victory and tryumphe. And in declarynge theyr loue towardes theyr souldiours, they offered them cattell, vitayles, and other necessarye thynges, whiche they hertely desyred them to take at theyr pleasure. And they on the other syde, thankefully receiuing that they neded, went on theyr waye, eatynge whan they were hungry, and but seldome toke any reste, tyl they came nere to the campe of the other consull M. Liuius. Then sent Claudius messangers to his felowe, aduertysynge hym of his comynge, to knowe his mynd, whether it were best for hym and his company, to come to hym pryuely or openly, in the nyght tyme or in the day: and whether he shoulde entre into his campe, or make an other campe for hym selfe and his army: Liuius answered, that best it was, he entered into his campe secretly in the nyght. For the more suertie wherof, he gaue a pryuy watche worde or token, wherby one tribune shulde receyue an other, one centurio or hundredour an other, one horseman an other, and one foteman shulde receyue an other. And it was thought, that there was space ynoughe in the fyrste campe, to receyue hym and his cõpanye, sense those that came with Claudius Nero brought lyttle more with them, but onely theyr armour, for the spedinesse of theyr way. Liuius tentes were then pitched nere to Sena, and Asdruball rested not past halfe a myle thence. When Nero approched, he couered hym with mountaynes and hylles, tyll it was nyghte. Then keppynge greate sylence, they entred the campe of Liuius, and were euery man broughte into the tentes by his lyke officer, where they were friendly and gentylly receyued, with great ioye and gladnesse. L. Portius the pretor had his campe ioynynge to the campe of the consull. The daye folowynge they counsayled, what was best then to be done. Some gaue aduyse, that Nero with his company, beinge wery, shulde reste them certayne dayes, and that the battayle shulde be differred, tyll they were fully refreshed of their longe trauayle: and in the meane tyme to knowe the maner of theyr ennemyes. But Nero wolde in noo wyse agree therto, he instantly desyred them so to worke, that his secrete enterpryse, whiche by his swyfte comynge thither was made sure, shulde not by theyr long tarying be made folysshe and voyde. For Annibal beinge deceyued, kepeth hym close in his tentes,

not

not knowynge of my comyng hyther, nor of the vnsure leauing of myne armye in my campe: but this deceyte can not longe be hyd. With spede makyng Asdruball and his host may be ouerthrowen, er euer I departe: and then may I with lyke speede returne to my company into Apulia. But whoo so by prolongynge of the tyme, gyueth space to his ennemies, he causeth my campe in Apulia to be delyuered to Anniball, and openeth the way for hym to come hither to be ioyned to his brother, Asdrubal at his pleasure. Wherfore incontinent let vs go to battayle: and therby bothe our ennemyes, that be absente in Apulia, and also those that be here present at hand, shalbe deceyued: the other by thynkynge our numbre there to be no lesse then it was, and these by thinking your numbre to be nothynge increased.

¶ After these earnest wordes of Claudius, they departed fro the counsaile, and euery man armed hym selfe, and were put in good order of battayle. The Carthaginenses also were alredy come out of theyr campe, and stode in array redy to fyght, and bothe the armies had without taryeng gone to gither, had not Asdrubal for a season caused his company to stay. He, with certayne other horsemen in his company, rode before his host: where he perceiued amonges the Romaynes, to be many olde shildes, whiche he had not seene before. Also he marked many carreine leane and ouer laboured horses. He thought also the numbre of his ennemies was greatter then it was wont to be. Wherfore hauyng a mistrust of that, whiche in dede was true: he blewe the retraite. And incontinent sent certayn of his men to the ryuer, where the Romayne horses were watered, to espye and marke, whether any of theyr horses were discoloured by dashinge with myre of the waye, or with dust: wherby they might appere to be of late iourneyed. He also caused some other to ride a farre of aboute theyr campes, to se, whether the trenche that enuironed the campe, were enlarged any whyt or not. Furthermore to marke, whether the trumpet did sounde ones or two tymes within the campe of the Romaynes. Nothinge deceiued him so moche, as when worde was broughte him, that the campes were nothynge enlarged: but that there were but twaine as was before, one of Liuius cõsull, the other of L. Portius: and neither of thẽ altered otherwise then they fyrste were. Neuertheless it troubled hym sore, beinge a wyse

man

man and moche vſed to warres with the Romaynes, when it was ſhewed hym, that the trumpet blewe but ones in the pretors campe: but in the other it blewe two tymes: wherfore he iudged ſurely, that bothe the conſuls were there. Wherupon he began to muſe, howe the other conſull ſhulde be departed from his brother Annibal. He could not deuyſe the thyng as it was, that his brother was ſo illuded by the departinge of the capitayne from his campe, whiche was not farre of, with part of his power. He iudged, that he had ſuſteined ſome gret loſſe: wherby he durſt not followe the conſull. Wherfore he feared greatly, leaſt whan all was loſt before, he was come to late to his brother with ſocours. He alſo miſtruſted, that his letters neuer came to Anniballes handes, but that they, with his meſſangers, were taken vp by the waye: vpon the ſyghte wherof the other conſull was come with haſt to vanquiſhe him alſo. Beinge in this great perplexitie, he cauſed all the fires to be put oute, and euery man to truſſe vp his ſtuffe and baggage: and in the begynninge of the nyghte, he with his hole hoſt departed ſecretely, folowinge two guides. Whoo had not farre gone with them, but partly for feare, and partely beinge troubled with the rumour of the armye, toke no good hede to their waye: wherfore they ſecretely ſlypped awaye, leauyng theim without a guide. Some wandered abrode in the fieldes, ſome beinge wery and ouerwatched, laide them downe to ſlepe and to reſt them, leauynge theyr ſtandardes. When the daye appered, Aſdruball cauſed his ſtandardes to go before the hoſte alonge the ſyde of the ryuer of Metaurus, ſekynge for fordes, where he myght paſſe ouer: but the further he went vp the riuer, the hyer were the banckes. Thus wanderynge ſtyll after the crokes and tourninges of the banke, ſekyng a place of paſſage: he ſpente a great parte of the daye in waſte: wherby the Romaynes had gotten tyme and ſpace to followe them. Firſt Nero with his horſemen ouer toke them: ſone after came Lucius Portius with his light harneſſed men. They ſlewe many of Aſdruballs folke, that abode behynd in the fieldes to reſt them. Aſdruball ſeinge no remedy to eſcape, foughte for ſome hyll by the riuer ſyde, wherin he myghte lodge his hoſt. By that tyme was Liuius alſo come with al his power of fotemen, armed and in good array. Then ioynynge theyr companies to gether, they put euery man in order. Claudius Nero led the

ryght wynge. Liuius kept the lefte wyng. Portius the pretor came in the myddell warde.

¶ When Asdruball sawe no remedy, but that he muste needes fyght, he left the fortifyng of his campe, and put his people in array. In the forefront he set his elephantes: about theim on the lefte hande agaynst Claudius Nero the consull, he set his frenchemen: not for that he trusted to theim moche hym selfe, but bicause he thought his ennemies feared theim most. The ryghte wynge he kepte hym selfe with his spanyardes, his olde meyne of warre, in whom his moste truste was. The Liguriens, men of a countrey of Italy, were sette in the middell behynde the elephantes. There was a greatte hylle betwene the frenchemen and Claudius Nero: so that he by no meanes with his hoste, might come to fight with theim. Wherfore they stode styll a good space without doing of any thing. But betweene Asdruball and Liuius fyers and mortall was the fyght. There were the greate numbre of Romayne fotemen agaynst the multitude of Spanyardes his expert warryours, and also agaynst the Liguriens, which wer very stronge and valiant men. The elephantes also dyd at the fyrste moche displeasure. Claudius seinge that he coulde not haue to doo with the frenchemen, tourned aboute his company, and fetchyng a compasse, came on the other syde of Asdruballes armye. Than were the Spanyardes and the Liguriens slayne on all parties, and the fyght was alredy come to the frenchmen, who were able to make smal resistence: for many of their company were shronken away and feble for labour and ouerwatchynge, as they be a people that can not well away with peyne. Many of theim were there slayne. Many also of the elephantes were slayne by the Romaynes, but moo by theyr owne rulars that rode vppon theim. For after they were ones stryken and aferde, the beastes were so vnruly, and dyd soo moche hurte to theyr owne Carthaginenses hoste: that theyr owne kepers and ryders slewe theim.

¶ Asdruball, lyke a full noble capitayne, handled hym selfe in that battayle, sometyme fyghtyng valiantly in his owne person, sometyme exhortyng his men manfully to fight, sometyme he desyred his worye souldiours to take some peyne for hym, and for theyr owne lyues, sometyme he rebuked theyr sluggyshnes. And yf any began to flee, he anon brought them

backe

backe to the battayle, and reſtored agayne the fielde, whyche in diuers places was ſlaked. At the laſt, whan he ſaw no helpe, but that withoute remedy he muſte loſe the fielde: not myndynge to lyue after ſo great a ſlaughter of his men and friendes, whyche for his ſake vndertooke that voyage: he ranne his horſe with the ſpurres into the myddell of the Romayne hoſte: where to declare the noble valour of his ſtomacke, of whome he was deſcended, lyke the ſonne of Amilcar, and brother to Annibal, he valyantly fought, and fyghtyng was ſlayne. Greate was the ſlaughter of the Carthaginenſes in that battayle: ſo that it was thought equall to the Romaynes loſſe at Cannas, as well for the numbre of men ſlayne, as for the loſſe of the capitaynes. There was of Aſdrubals hoſte in this battayle ſlayne ſyx and fyfty thouſande men, and there were. v. thouſande and foure hundred taken pryſoners. The pray at the ſpoyle was great, bothe of golde and ſyluer, and alſo of the Romayne priſoners, whiche before Aſdruball had taken. Of whyche Romayne pryſoners, there were founde aboue. iiii. M. The Romayns loſt in this battayle almoſte. viii. M. men. On the morowe worde was broughte to Liuius, that thoſe frenchemen and Ligures, whiche were left on liue at the battayle the daye before, were nowe aſſembled togither agayne, and went away without any capitayn or keepyng good order, ſo that they myght ſoone be all ſlayne, yf he wolde ſend but one wynge of horſemen to purſue theim. Not ſo ſayd Liuius, we wyll ſuffre ſome of our ennemies to eſcape, whyche ſhal remayne and be meſſangers, both of the diſtruction of our ennemies, and alſo of our noble honour and proweſſe.

¶ Claudius Nero, the night after the battayle foughten, departed with his company agayne toward his owne camp, making ſo moche haſt in his retourne, that the fyrſt day folowing he was come to his owne campe, and to the frontiers of his ennemy Annibal, he made ſuche ſpede, that no meſſenger was come thyther before him, whiche hadde broughte any newes of the victorie. Wherefore his perſonalle comynge, with the ſodein declaration of their good ſpede, cauſed ſo greatte ioye and gladnes in the Romayne armie, as thoughe an heauenlie comforte had ben ſent theym after an extreme doloure. At Rome alſo, when newes were brought of their proſperus ſucceſſe, ſuche ioye was made, as canne not well be expreſſed.

For after Claudius departynge towarde his felowe, frome the sonne rysynge to the sonne settynge, the senatours neuer departed frome the senate howse: neyther wente the cytezens out of the market place. The matrones of the citie were in contynuall prayers: soo that with theyr clamour, pylgremages, and vowes, theyr goddis were all weryed. But whanne the certayntie of the victorye, the greatte occision of theyr ennemies, with the deathe of the Lappysyne, was broughte theim by the legates of the consulles: theyr suspended hoope was sodaynely tourned into a perfecte ioye, whyche passed measure. Than begamme the marchauntes to bye, to sell, to paye, to receyue, and to make all maner of contractes, as they were wont to do in tyme of peace..

¶ Claudius the consull, retournynge frome the battayle, broughte with hym the heade of Asdruball: whyche at his fyrste comynge, he caused to be throwen before the entree of Anniballes campe. He alsoo caused the Affricans, whyche he hadde taken prysoners in the battaylle, bounden as they were, to be sette before his campe: to the intente his ennemyes myghte see theim. And for the more encrease of Anniballes sorowe, he loosed two of his sayde Affricanes prysoners, commaundynge theim to goo to Anniball, and to declare vnto hym, the ordre of all thynges as they hadde ben done in the battayl: wherwith he was so stryken with sorowe, bothe for the losse of soo greate noumbre of menne of his brothers armye, as also for the losse of his friendes and fumylyars, that he sayde, he knewe full well, what shoulde be the fortune and fatall chaunce of Carthage within shorte space. Whervppon he remoued into the fieldes of the Bruttians. And for that he hadde no power lefte hym of men, to defende his fortresses, that yet helde, being so farre of: he gathered to gyther all the Metapontanes and the Lucanes, suche as were his frendes: and brought them all into the countrey of the Bruttians, where he remayned for a season, counsailing, what were beste for hym to doo.

Sch-

¶ Scipio in dyuers battayles diſcomfiteth the Carthaginenſes, taketh Hanno on lyue, dryueth Hasdrubal and Mago, with all theyr power, cleane out of Spayne. Cap. liiii.

IN Spayne betwene the Romayns and the Carthaginenſes thus was the countrey diuyded. Aſdruball, the ſonne of Gyſgon, was dryuen with his companye into the vttermoſte parte of Spayne, and to the yles called the Gades. The reſt of the countrey eaſtwardes, was vnder the dominion of the Romaynes, oneleſſe it were very fewe cities, whyche were kepte by the Affricanes: to whoſe ſuccours Hanno, a newe capitayne was ſent from Affrica, with a newe armye, in ſteede of Aſdruball, that was ſlayne. This Hanno had alſo hyred a great nomber of men of warre in Celtiberia. With this great hoſte he ioyned to Mago. Agaynſte whome Scipio ſent M. Sillanus, with .x. M. footemen, and v. C. horſemen. And he paſſynge the hye hilles, and manifold daungerous paſſages and ſtraites of Spayn, made ſuch ſpede, that by the guyding of certayne runawayes of Celtiberia, he came within ten myles of his ennemies, before any knowledge was hadde, or any fame was bruted of his comynge. There he ſtode for a ſeaſon, tyll he had by the ſayde runawayes or eſpyes knowledge, that his ennemies were lodged in .ii. campes: the Celtiberiens on the left hande of the hye waie, and were to the noumbre of .ix. M. ſouldyours, the Carthaginenſes were on the ryghte hande. Sillanus fyrſte aſſayled the Celtiberiens: who by the meanes of Mago, were ſoone put in order. The battaile endured ſoore for a ſeaſon: and ſomewhat the longer, by meanes of reſorte of the Carthaginenſes, whiche came frome the other campe to the healpe of the Celtiberiens. At the laſte Mago, ſeinge his parte lyke to be putte to the worſte, with two thouſande footemen, and the whoſle power of horſemenne, that were lefte on lyue, fledde vnto the Gades, and came to Aſdruball. Hanno, the other capytayne, was taken on lyue: with many other noble pryſoners.

¶ Soone after the battayle with Hanno, Cornelius Scipio departed to Tarracon, leauynge in that countrey L. Scipio his brother, with tenne thouſande ſotemen, and one thouſand horſemen, who after his brothers departing with this power,

assaulted the towne of Oringin: not without peyne. For they scarsely were suffered to put theyr scalinge ladders to the walles: so great was the violence of the dartes and other ingins, whiche were throwen at them. And so sone as any were raised vp thervnto, and men theron, striuinge to ascende: anone they were eyther throwen downe, men and all, by the souldiours of the towne, hauinge forkes made for that purpose: or els they were in ieoperdy to be drawen vp ladders men and all, by reason of iron hokes that were throwen vpon the ladders, taking suche sure holde on them, that the clymbers were oftentimes pulled vp farre frome the grounde, and hanged longe by the roundes of the ladders. Thus continued the assault very long, and was verye fyers and daungerous on bothe partes. Then had Scipio deuided his host in three partes, to the intente one parte shulde euer assaulte the towne, while the other rested. Wherfore he commaunded those, whiche were at the fyrst assaulte, to withdrawe to their tentes, and rest them: and incontinent with other two partes of his freshe souldiours, he gaue a newe assaulte on two partes of the towne: so that the defendours, beinge wery with the longe sustreinyng the furst assault, and also soore afraide, as desperate, leauinge the walles, withdrewe them: wherupon the towne was wonne, and great occision made of people of all kyndes and ages.

¶ When tidinges of this noble acte was brought to P. Scipio the capitiane, he gretly praysed his brother, doing to hym as moche honour as he myght. And after sente hym to Rome, to beare newes to the senate of theyr spede. with hym also he sent Hanno the capitayn of the Carthaginenses, & diuers other noble pusoners, that were before by them taken.

¶ Asdruball the sonne of Gysgon: and Mago the son of Amilcar, desyrouse to redresse theyr harmes, and to recouer theyr losses, gathered together of theyr friendes in Spayne, and of hyred souldiours, an huge army, to the numbre of. l. M. fotemen, and. iiii. M. v. C. horsemen: and came to the towne of Silpia, where in the plaine fieldes they pitched theyr campes.

¶ P. Scipio, heringe of theyr great armye, assembled all his men lykewise: and to be more able to rencountre with his ennemies, he sente Sillanus to Colchas, the kynge and ruler ouer xxviii. cities and townes: of whom he had. iii. M. footemen, and. v. C. horsemen. The hadde in his army, when he came to

Betula

Betula. xlv. M. of horſemen and fotemen. Certaine daies after theyr metynge there were ſkyrmiſſhes and iuſtes betwene the horſemen and the lighte fotemen of bothe the armies. At the laſt they bothe deſcended into the fieldes with al theyr powers in good order of battayle. The middell wardes kept the Romaynes on the one ſyde, and the Carthaginenſes and the Affricanes on the other ſyde: the wynges of both the parties were of ſpaniardes and hyred ſouldiours. Thus ſtode they redye to do battayle, tyll it was night, without ſtroke ſtrikinge: and euen ſo they dyd certayne dayes folowynge: So that euer it was bruted in bothe armies, that the myddle wardes ſhulde be ſtill of the Romaynes and Carthaginenſes, where the greateſt ſtrength was, and where that moſt noble and experte men of warre were: betwene whom alſo reſted the cauſe and chiefe grounde of the warre. Scipio beinge aduertiſed, that his ennemies truſted and beleued, that this order ſhulde be kept ſtill in the battayle: againſte the daye, wherin he thought to fight, he chaunged all his order. Fyrſt in the euenyng before, he commaunded all his horſemen, before the dawnynge of the day, to eate ſome meate, and then to be armed, and euery one of them to haue his horſe alſo made redy for the battayle. Whiche his commaundement they diligently accompliſhed. Then Scipio, ſo ſone as the day appered, cauſed al his horſemen, with lyght armour, to inuade the ſtation or campe of the Carthaginenſes: and he with the reſt of his hole hoſte folowed in good arraye, but otherwyſe ordered, then eyther his ennemies or his owne company lokedfor. For he put his Romaynes in the wynges, and in the middle he put all ſtraungers and hyred ſouldiours. Aſdruball, heringe the greate noyſe of the Romayne horſemen, with the ſodayne rumour and feare of his owne menne, ranne out of his tente. And when he perceyued all the fieldes garnyſhed with his ennemies, he ſent forthe anone his horſemen againſt the Romayn horſemen: and ſone after he hym ſelfe with all his fotemen came forth of his campe kepyng the ſame ordre that he had done certayne dayes before, without chaungynge any parte therof. The battayle betwene the horſemen endured longe, but whan the hoſt of fotemen were within half a myle together: Scipio cauſed his horſemen to withdrawe them ſelues, whom he deuided then in two partes, and cauſed to ſtande behynde the two wynges, to be euer redy for theyr

ayde and succour. Nowe was his myddle warde moſt of Spa-
niardes: whom he commaunded to marche forwardes, not faſt,
but a ſofte pace. Then ſente he a meſſanger to Sillanus and
Martius, who gouerned the lefte wynge, chargyng them to
make ſpeede forwardes on theyr partes, in lyke maner as they
ſawe hym do with the ryght winge, whiche he ledde hym ſelfe:
ſo that the wynges might be fyghtyng a good ſpace before the
myddle wardes ſhulde mete. In this ordre they wente for-
wardes, ſpreadynge theyr wynges, and makynge a great bo-
ſome in the myddell of theyr hoſte. For the ſpanyardes in the
middel went a moch ſofter pace then the wynges: wherby the
winges were al redy come to ſtrokes, and fought a long ſpace,
before that the Affricans and Carthaginenſes (in whom reſted
the great ſtrength of theyr ennemies) were come to any ſtroke
ſtrikinge. Agayne, to bende to any part of the winges to helpe
theyr felowes that foughte, they durſte not, leſte they ſhulde
open theyr battayle to theyr ennemies, whiche came directly
vpon them. By this meanes the winges wer anone ouercome,
and dryuen into the myddell warde: and no meruayle. For the
yong and the hyred ſouldiours of Spayne were matched with
the ſtronge and olde warriours of the Romaines and the La-
tines. Agayne, Aſdrubals men were ſo ſodainely taken in the
mornynge, that they had no tyme to receyue any ſuſtenaunce
before the battayle. Wherfore whan the daye was ſomewhat
ſpent, they waxed feynte and feble. And for that intent Scipio
purpoſely tracted and prolonged the tyme, before the myddell
wardes ſhoulde mete: to the ende the heate of the ſonne to-
wardes the myddell of the daye, with the longe ſtandynge in
harneis, and lacke of meate and drynke, ſhulde take from them
bothe theyr ſtrength and corage. Thus they beinge wery, and
aſſayled bothe before with the middell warde, and alſo on the
ſydes with the Romayne wynges, were conſtrained to recule.
Whiche they dyd a great whyle, keppynge ſtyll good ordre in
theyr withdrawynge: for Aſdruball continually cried to them,
and therto exhorted them, ſayinge: If they wolde by lyttell &
lyttell withdrawe them, they ſhulde ſone get the mountaines,
whiche were at theyr backes: and then they ſhulde be ſure out
of the daunger of theyr ennemies. But at the laſt, ſeinge them
ſelues ouercome, and ſo many of theyr companye ſlayne on all
partes: theyr feare ouertame ſhame. Wherfore with greate
ſlaughter

ſlaughter they fledde to theyr campe. The Romaynes purſued them faſte, and had taken theyr campe and tentes, had not a vehement ſtorme of rayne ſodeynly come vppon them, with ſuche violence, that euery man was gladde to gette hym to his owne tent and pauilion.

¶ The Carthaginenſes, although the nighte drewe faſte on them, being very ſore woũded and wet with the rayne (wherby they had neceſſary occaſions of ſlepe & reſt) yet were they ſo afraide, that they ceaſſed not, ſtylle to ſtrengthen and to fortifie their campe with dyches and ſtones, whiche they gathered in all partes about them: truſtinge more to the ſtrength thereof, then to theyr armour. Then many of the hyred ſouldiours of the hoſte of the Carthaginenſes lefte Aſdruball, and came to Scipio. Diuerſe ſtronge townes alſo were delyuered vp to hym: with all the garriſons, whiche were left in them. Wherfore Aſdruball, thinkynge hym ſelfe more ſure by fleinge, then by his abydinge, ſecretly departed from thenſe in the nyghte.

¶ Scipio in the mornynge, being aduertiſed of the departing of his ennemies, ſent his horſemenne before: and he hym ſelfe with his army ſodeynly folowed them: The horſemen at length ouertoke them, and made ſo many ſkyrmyſhes with them, that therby they were ſtayed, tyll theyr hole armie of fotemen alſo ouer toke them. Then was there great occũion made of them with ſmall reſiſtence. And Aſdruball with. vii. M. men with hym, was fayne to flee to the next hye mountayne, where they encamped them ſelues, and were ſafe frõ any daunger or hurt, that coulde be done them. Sone after he ſlypped from thens, and ſtale to the ſea, whiche was not farre of: where he toke ſhyppynge hym ſelfe, with Mago, and a fewe with hym, and went to the ĩles beyonde the furtheſt parte of Spayne, called Gades, leauynge the moſte parte of his men behynde hym at theyr owne aduenture, to prouide for theim ſelues. Parte of them went to the Romaynes, parte to ſuch cities as wer then remayninge in the dominion of the Carthaginenſes.

¶ Scipio, after the dryuinge away of Aſdruball and his company, wyllyng vtterly to expell all the Carthaginenſes out of Spayne: layde ſiege to Illiturgus: which after longe trauail he wan with force, and cauſed his men to ſlee al that euer they founde on lyue, man woman and childe. And after they ſette the towne on fyre, and threwe downe the walles to the earth,

that the place, whiche hadde ben the chiefe receptacle of theyr ennemies, myghte be clerely defaced, and the memorye therof abolyſſhed for euer. From thense he wente towarde Caſtulo, with his armie. The capytayne therof, fearynge the crueltie of the Romaynes: yelded the towne to them, with the Carthaginenſes alſo that were therin. Aſcapa alſo a ſtrong towne was won by Martius, and brought in ſubiection, with all other townes cities and fortreſſes that the Carthaginenſes before helde. Thus were they clerelye expelled oute of Spayne, the. xiiii. yere after the warres fyrſte beganne, and the. v. yere after that Scipio was appoynted by the ſenate to be capitayne of the armye, and was aſſigned to warre in Spayn as his prouince.

M. Liuius, and C. Nero the conſulles, entre the citie of Rome, in triumphe. A prayſe of Anniballes gouernynge his armye. Capi. lv.

NOwe let vs retourne to M. Liuius the conſull, that after the great victory had by hym and his felowe Claudius Nero, agaynſte the other olde Aſdruball, in the frontiers of Italy, as is before declared: he ſente Q. Fabius Maximus to Rome, to the ſenatours, aduertiſynge them, that he thought the armye, whiche L. Portius the prætor had there, was ſufficient inoughe for the kepynge of that prouince: So that (if they thought it beſte) he and his armye might be well ſpared there. To whom the ſenatours aunſwered, that they wylled him to come him ſelfe to Rome with his armye, and that Claudius Nero his felowe ſhuld alſo mete him the ſame tyme at Rome, leauyng his hoſt with good capitains to kepe the countrey ſtyll againſt Anniball.

Upon this decree of the ſenate the conſulles wrote letters eyther to other, and agreed, that lyke as they had with one good wyll and mind gouerned and defended the cuntreye, durynge the tyme of their offyce: euen ſoo nowe they ſhoulde bothe at one tyme come into the citie of Rome, althoughe they came frome diuers partes. Wherefore it was agreed, that who ſo euer of theim came fyrſte to the citie of Preneſte, ſhulde there tary the comynge of his felowe. Accordyng to

the

the appoyntement, there they mette bothe in one daye: and frome thenſe they ſent meſſangers to the citie, deſyrynge the ſenatours to mete them in the houſe of Bellona the goddes of warre, the third day folowing. There wer they receiued with a great multitude both of ſenators and of citezins with goodly ſalutations and great thankes for theyr politike gouernance of their roumes: by whoſe helpe and dexteritie the cõmon welth was nobly preſerued and aduaunced. Soone after they were brought into the ſenate: there accordinge to the olde cuſtome of conquerours, they declared theyr noble actes, whiche they had achieued for the common welthe of the citie of Rome: and for the ſame deſyred, fyrſt that honour myghte be giuen to the immortall goddes: and then that they mighte with triumphe entre the citie. Whiche theyr requeſt was graunted them. As touchinge the maner of theyr entringe in triumphe, it was appoynted, that they ſhuld not come in ſeuerally but together, as they vainquiſhed theyr ennemies together. They agreed alſo betwene them ſelues, that bicauſe the victorye was had in the prouince of M. Liuius, & alſo bicauſe Liuius army was come to Rome with him, where Nero his hoſt coulde in no wyſe be brought thither: Therfore ſhuld Liuius ride in a charyot, and his ſouldiours in order followe hym. Nero ſhuld ryde by hym on horſebacke without any of his ſouldiours to folowe hym. Claudius was contented to gyue the honour to his felowe: by whiche his gentilnes he wan moche the more honour & praiſe. For euery man ſaid of him, that he on horſebacke in. vi. dais had ridden the length of all Italy, and had fought with Aſdruball in the borders of Fraunce, what time Anniball iudged hym to be in Apulia. So that his onely name was able to kepe Anniball lurkyng in his campe, and his onely comyng was the cauſe of the victory againſt Aſdrubal. Wherfore (ſaid they) ride the one conſull neuer ſo highe in his charyot, yet the other conſul, that rode but on horſebacke, was worthy of the very triumphe. ye although Nero dyd go but on his fote: yet was he worthye of glory and fame perpetual. With theſe prayſes they folowed Nero into the capitoly or palaice in Rome. Where they preſented moche money of theyr gayne, and that was put into the treaſory. On the morowe both the conſuls, and alſo the horſemen, prayſed moche L. Ueturius, and Q. Cecilius: deſiring that they might, for the next yere folowing, be choſen conſuls.

Which at the next election was done, and bothe they appoynted with .ii. consuls armies, to kepe warre agaynst Annibal.

¶ After all thynges were putte in good order, they departed from the citie, and wente into the countrey of the Lucanes, and in shorte tyme they had brought all that countrey into subiection. With Annibal there was lyttell doone. For he offered not hym selfe to gyue battayle, he was so discouraged with the losse of his brother, his frendes and his souldiours. On the other parte, the consulles thought it not best to prouoke hym to battayle: sens they founde in hym noo sturrynge. So moche they feared and estemed the valour of that noble capytayne: to whome this prayse is gyuen, That noo man coulde iudge in hym, whether he were more to be commended in tyme of prosperitie, or in tyme of aduersitie. For who woulde not wonder to se, that he maynteyned the warre so farre frome his countrey by the full space of thyrtene yeres in the lande of his ennemies, hauynge his armye not of his owne citie or countreye, but gathered togyther of many nations, whyche lyued not vnder one maner of lawe, neyther hadde one custome or language, but moche different in apparayle, armour, customes, ceremonies, ye they hadde all seuerall goddis. Yet dydde he so gouerne theim all, and knytte theim to gyther all in suche amitie, that no man coulde iudge or knowe of any dyssention betweene theym, or insurrection agaynste theyr capytaynes, althoughe dyuerse tymes he lacked to paye them theyr wages, and also vitayles for their sustenaunce: by the lacke whereof, in other warres moche inconuenience hathe ensewed. Agayne, after the deathe of Asdruball, and his armye, in whome was all his trust, whan all Italy was taken frome hym, saue onely the countrey or corner of the Brutians: Who woulde not wonder to see noo rebellyon amongest his owne menne. Consyderynge that vyttayles hadde they not, but only from that lyttell angle of the Brutians, whyche yf it hadde beene wholly tylled and sowed, hadde not beene able to susteyne soo greate an armye. Neuer the lesse, a greatte parte therof was vntylled, parte for feare of the Romaynes, and theyr friendes, partely for that the mooste parte of the yonge menne of the countreye were taken to the warres, whyche were before wonte to tylle and manure the grounde for husbandrye.

These

Theſe thinges (I ſay) conferred togither, it wyll make al men to muſe, howe he coulde ſo quietly gouerne his greate hooſt, and to prayſe greatly his wyſe conduict therin.

¶ Scipio and Aſdrubali arriue both in one daie in Affrica, and be lodged bothe togyther in the palays of kynge Syphax. Cap. lvi.

After the departynge of P. Scipio to Tarracon, the Carthaginenſes beinge dryuen out of Spayne, Maſſaniſſa, ſeinge the great falle of his frendes the Carthaginenſes, ſecretely had communication with Sillanus, and was wõne to be a ſure frende to the Romayns. Wherypon to haue his frendes in Affrica the more obedyent and redy to hym in all his neceſſities, he appoynted to ſayle ouer in to his countrey, there to make hym ſelfe as ſtronge as myght be, for the ayde and ſuccour of the Romaynes whan neede requyred. And Sillanus ſoone after retourned to Scipio to Tarracon.

¶ Than P. Scipio, wylling to certifie the ſenate of his great victory and happie chaunces, ſente his brother L. Scipio to Rome, as is before reherſed, who ledde with hym many noble men priſoners, whome he hadde before taken in the warres: wherypon he was meruaylouſely honoured and prayſed of all men. Yet he alone, that hadde deſerued all the fayde honour, eſtemed all his feates done in Spayne, to be nothyng in compariſon of thoſe thynges whyche he had conceyued in his mynde. He looked for the conqueſte of greate Carthage and Affrica, as the ende of his warre, and the conſummation of his honour and glory. Wherfore, to worke in tyme all thinges, that afterwardes ſhoulde ſerue for his pourpoſe, he determyned to wynne vnto hym the hartes of princis, whyche were borderars vnto that countrey. And fyrſte he mynded to attempt kynge Syphax.

¶ This Syphax was kyng of a people in Affrica, called Maſeſuli, adioynyng to the Moores, and lying on the other ſide of the ſea Mediterrane, ouer againſt new Carthage in Spain, who at that tyme was a great friende to the Carthaginenſes: To hym he ſent L. Lelius, with a goodly preſent: wherwith the

the kynge was verye gladde and well pleased. And consyderynge in his mynde the good fortune, whyche the Romaynes hadde in all partes, and seynge the power of his olde friendes the Carthaginenses to be soo greately decayed, that in Italy they hadde nowe lyttell to doo, and in Spayne nothynge: he agreed with Lelius, to become a friende to the Romaynes. But he sayde, he woulde no further procede to the confirmation of the amitie betweene them, tyll he myghte personally speake with Scipio, the chief capitayn of the Romaynes. Whereuppon Lelius takynge assuraunce of hym, for the safe goynge and commynge of his capitayne, retourned to Scipio. And declared vnto hym, howe he had spedde, as is before declared. Scipio iudgynge his frendshyppe to be a great helpe and furtheraunce to his purpose, touchynge his desyrous affayres in Affrica, bothe for his greatte strengthe and rychesse, and also for that his countrey was adioynyng to Carthage, directly ouer agaynste Spayne, leauynge Lucius Martius at Tarracon, and Sillanus at newe Carthage, with a power sufficient for the defence of Spayne: he with Lelius in two galeys or rowbarges of fyue oores a piece, passed ouer into Affrica.

¶ Nowe it happened, that euen the same tyme Asdruball, who of late had ben dryuen out of Spayne, was newely arryued in the same hauen, with seuen galeys, and castyng their ankers, drewe as neere the shore as they coulde. Asdruball, perceyuinge the other two galeys or rowbarges of Scipios, comynge towardes the same hauen: knewe full welle, they were the vesselles of his ennemyes. Wherefore not doubtynge, but that they beynge soo fewe in numbre, myght easyly be oppressed and vanquyshed, before they shoulde gette the hauen: he commaunded his folkes to wey vp the ankers, and to make theim redy to sette furthe with all speede. But the other, hauynge good wynde to theyr furtherance, entred the hauen, before the galeys of Asdruball myght gette out, suche ruffelinge noise and littell shifte was made by his men. Wherefore when the Romaynes had ones gotten the kinges hauen: no man durste be so bolde to meddell with theym. Thus wente the two capyteynes on lande: fyrste Asdruball, and then Scipio with Lelius, and bothe wente to the kynges palayes: whose comynge dydde vnto Syphax greatte

honour.

honour. For it was neuer before ſeene, that the gouernoures of the .ii. moſt noble ſeignories, that were in thoſe dayes in all the world, came euer to his palayce vpon one day, to deſire his amitie and peace. The kynge ryght gentylly receyued theim bothe, and ſeng theyr chaunces were to mete both at one time in his howſe: he dydde what he myght, to bryng them both to communication, truſtynge therby to appeaſe all ſtryfe and diſcorde for any mattier that hadde beene betweene theym. But that Scipio refuſed to doo, affyrmynge, that there was no pryuate matter of diſpleaſure betweene hym and Aſdruball, whyche by communication or hearynge of friendes, neded to be determined. Neyther was there any thynge touchynge the common welthe of his countrey, wherin he might trauayle or intreate, oneleſſe it were by ſpeciall auctorite or commaundement of the wholle ſenate. Than the kynge made great inſtance to Scipio, ſeinge they were bothe his gueſtes at ones, that he wolde be contented to be ſo ordered, that he myghte not haue cauſe to expelle any of theim bothe frome his table. Scipio at the kynges requeſte was not onely contented to ſytte with Aſdruball at oone table, but alſo, for the kynges pleaſure, he laye in the ſame bedde that he dyd. For Scipio was naturally of ſuche dexteritie, and ſo conformable to reaſon, that thereby he not onely wanne the herte of Syphax: but alſoo he broughte his mooſte mortall ennemye Aſdruball in more admyration of hym, after he hadde ſeene his conuerſation, than euer he dydde before, for any acte that euer he dydde. Wherevppon he beganne than to coniecture and to iudge, that Syphax, with all his myghte was become friende to the Romaynes. Suche polycie he deemed Scipio to haue in wynnynge the hertes of men. And than he beganne to dyuiſe, that it was neceſſary for the Carthaginenſes, to conſult among theim ſelues, not how Spayne was loſte, and myghte be recouered: but rather howe they myghte keepe their domynion in Affrica. Specyally he was moued thus to be in doubte, for that he iudged, that ſoo greatte a capytayne of the Romaynes, woulde not leaue the countrey, that he lately hadde conquered, to wander abrode in a ſtraunge domynyon, onely with two galeys, leauynge behynde hym his greatte power, and committyng hym vnto the daungier of an vnknowen kynge: but onely vppon

ſome

some truste that he had therby to wynne Affrica.

¶ Scipio concludinge a peace and amitie with the kynge, departed from hym, leauynge Asdruball wrapped in manyfolde troubles. And within foure dayes after, susteynynge many stormes on the seas, he arriued in safegard at newe Carthage.

¶ Massanissa speaketh secretely with Scipio, and entreth in leage with the Romaynes: Mago sayleth into Italy, to ioyne with Annibali. Cap. lvii.

IT is before declared, howe Sillanus had secrete communication with Massanissa, and had wonne hym to be friende to the Romaynes: but the conclusyon of this communication was deferred, tyll Massanissa myghte speake with Scipio personallye, for the more sure and faythfull assurance of theyr alliaunce. Whiche caused P. Scipio to enterpryse that longe peynfull iourney, to come nere to the sea side, to mete hym. Of whose approchynge Massanissa, being in the yle called the Gades, was aduertised by L. Martius: He fained to Mago, that his horses were lost and spylt, for that they were so longe kepte within the yle, without any exercise: and his men also were empayred throughe idlenes, not puttynge them selues in vre to do any feates of armes. Furthermore he saide, their longe lienge in that ilande caused derth and scarsitie of all thynges. Wherfore he desired licence of hym, that he mighte, with his horsemen passe ouer in to Spayne, there to spoyle and wast the countrey nere to the sea syde.

¶ By this perswasyon he obteyned lycence, and came ouer in to Spayne. At his fyrste arryuaile, he sente three noble men of Numidie to Scipio, wherof he wylled hym to reteyne with hym two of them, as pledges: And to sende againe the third of theim, to acertayne hym of the tyme and place of theyr metynge: by whose conducte he myght be broughte to the place appoynted. When the daye came, they met to gether, with a smalle numbre in their companye: where Massanissa, at the fyrste syghte, althoughe before he had a greate admyration of Scipio, throughe the noble fame of his actes: yet vppon the syght of hym and his presence, he had hym in mocke more veneration. For besydes that of nature he was indowed with goodlye and large stature: wherein he shewed a marueylouse

magnificence:

magnifycence: yet the ſame was ſet forthe the more by reaſon of his goodly long heare, and his comly apparell, after a manly and warrelyke faſhion. He was alſo of a myddle age, at his full ſtrength, and was become ſo beautyfull after a ſickenes, of whiche he was late recouered: that his luſty youthe ſemed renewed: wherby he was more pleaſaunt to beholde. At theyr firſt metyng, Maſſaniſſa half aſtonied, gaue hym humble thankes for his goodneſſe ſhewed, in ſendynge home his brothers ſonne: whom he before had as priſoner. From which tyme (he ſayde) he ceaſſed not to ſeke occaſion of his friendſhyp and amitie, for the whiche, nowe that he had obteyned it, he gaue thankes to the goddes. Truſtynge that he wold ſo apply him ſelfe in his affayres and the Romaynes cauſes, that theyr common welthe was neuer more aduaunced by one man, beinge a ſtraunger vnto them. Which his harty beneuolence and good wyll that he bare to them, he coulde neuer before (althoughe he wolde) haue ſhewed to hym and to them in Spayne, beinge to hym a ſtraunge, and an vnknowen countrey. But in caſe the Romaynes wolde ſende Scipio as theyr capitayne into Affrica, where he was bred and brought vp, he doubted not, there to do them ſuch hie ſeruice, that the honour of Carthage ſhuld no longe while endure.

¶ Scipio gladly beheldе hym, and alſo heard hym: knowinge ſurely, that he was the chiefe of al the horſemen in the army of his ennemies, and a luſty yonge man, of a noble herte and courage. Wherfore after they had entreated of theyr buſines, giuynge faythe the one to the other, of faythfull loue and amity, they departed: Scipio to Tarracon, and Maſſaniſſa to the ile of Gades. but bycauſe it myghte appere to Mago, that he had done ſome feate in Spayne: Scipio ſuffered him to ſpoile certayne goodes and groundes on the ſea coſt, and to take the praye with hym.

¶ Mago beinge deſperate of any good ſpede to be hadde in Spayne, was in mynde to ſayle into Affrica, when ſodeynlye letters came to hym from Carthage, commaundyng hym with his nauy of ſhyppes, that he had at the Gades, that he ſhulde ſayle ouer into Italy. Where hyringe as moche people as he myghte, of frenchemen, and Liguriens, he ſhoulde with all ſpede ioyn him ſelfe with Annibal. And for that purpoſe great ſummes of money were ſent him from Carthage. Beſydes that

he leuied and exacted as moch money as he coulde of the Gaditanes, compellinge euery man to bringe in his money. Besydes this he spoyled the temples. With all this riches he arryued at the ile of Minorique, where he gathered together. ii. M. yonge men, whom in the beginnynge of sommer he toke with hym, and sayled ouer into Italy with. xxx. great shippes of warre, and many other shyppes loden with prouisyon. He had in his hoste at that tyme. xii. M. fotemen, and two. M. horsemen. With this numbre he sodeynlye arriued at Geene, whiche towne he toke with small resystence, beinge vnprouyded of men of warre. From thense he sayled alonge the costes of Liguria, nexte to the mountaynes called Alpes, and hering, that a people of that countreye, called Ingawni, helde warre with certayne mountanoys called Epanterii: he landed there, and makynge a leage or amitie with the Ingawnes, he graunted them to inuade the mountanoys with certayne of his people. The rest he sent to Carthage, to defende the costes of the sea there. For it was bruted abrode, that Scipio was mynded to lande his nauy in Affrica.

¶ He had no longe season taryed there, but his armye stil encreased. For the frenchemen dayly resorted vnto hym, hering the fame and glory of his name. Of his arriuaile in Liguria about Geene, Sp. Lucretius sent letters to Rome to the senate, aduertisynge them, that where Asdruball was about. ii. yeres paste slayne with his armye in the frontiers of Italy, to the great comfort of the citie, that great ioye was but in vaine, and passed lyke a shadowe, onlesse they prouyded nowe spedye remedy. For a newe armye was come with Mago from Carthage, to begynne a newe warre lyke the other: onelye the capytayne therof was chaunged. These newes moued moch the senatours. Wherfore they sente letters to M. Liuius, then proconsull, commaundynge hym to bringe his host from Hetruria to Arminius. Cn. Seruilius the pretour hadde also commaundement, to bringe thyther from Rome two newe legions. Thus laye bothe the hostes of Romaynes, and the army of the Carthaginenses, with theyr friendes, the oone not farre from the other, a longe season, without any thynge doinge worthy of memory.

Scipio

¶ Scipio ſayleth into Italy, cometh to Rome, and is create one of the conſulles, he deſyreth to haue licence, to ſaile into Affrica with an army. Cap. lviii.

SOne after the departyng of Mago from the ſle of Gades, the Gaditanes yelded them ſelues to the Romaynes. P. Scipio committing the rule and gouernaunce of his army to L. Lentulus, & L. Manlius, takyng with hym. x. ſhippes, with men ſufficient, went hym ſelfe to Rome. Againſt whoſe coming the counſaile ſatte without the citie in the houſe of Bellona. There he ſoberly declared to the ſenatours, what thinges he had done in Spayne: howe often he had foughte with banners diſplayed againſt his ennemies: howe many cyties he had taken from them by ſtrength: what people he had brought into theyr obeyſaunce: he ſhewed alſo that he hadde fought with. iiii. ſundry capitaines noble men, and vanquiſhed them and their armies, whiche before were neuer vanquiſhed: So that nowe there was no Carthaginenſes lefte in Spayne. But for al his noble actes, he was not admitted to entre the citie with triumph, bicauſe he had neuer borne office in the citie. After the counſayle aroſe, he entred the citie, where he preſented and brought into the treſory great plenty of money and riches of his gaynes and prayes. Soone after the tyme came of choſyng of conſuls, at whiche daye P. Cornelius Scipio was choſen conſull, and P. Licinius Craſſus his fellowe for that yere. Great was the reſort that came to behold Scipio where ſo euer he went. The commons had conceiued in their mindes an opinion of hym, that he was the manne, appoynted by the goddes to finiſhe the warres in Italy, as he had before deliuered Spayne from the Carthaginenſes. Whiche warres in Italy ended, they appoynted in theyr owne hertes, and alſo they ſpake it openly, that he ſhulde haue Affrica, appoynted as his prouynce. When the prouynces were allotted, he was appoynted to Sicilia, and L. Craſſus to the Brutians againſt Annibal. The fame amonge the commons ranne ſtyll, that Scipio ſhoulde haue Affrica to his prouynce. And he euer deſyrouſe of great glory, ſayde: that he was not onely choſen Conſull, to meynteyne the warre, but to fynyſhe and to make an ende therof. Whiche in no wiſe myght be achieued, oneles

he myght passe with his army into Affrica. Which his desyre in case the senatours woulde not graunte, he wolde referre it to the voyce of the communes.

¶ An oration made by Q. Fabius Maximus, disswading Scipio from his desired iourney into Affrica, and willyng him to mayntein the warres against Annibali in Italy. Cap. lix.

OF this purpose of Scipio the senatours consulted togyther, and amonge other, they desyred Q. Fabius Maximus to declare his opinyon. He aunswered, making an oration in maner and fourme folowynge.

¶ I am well assured, fathers conscript, that yf I dissent and agree not to this hasty passage into Affrica, two thynges wyll be iudged and spoken of me. One is, a slownes or a slacke tractynge of my mattier, whiche naturally is gyuen me, and that yonge men calle fearefulnes or slouthe. And it greueth me lyttell, thoughe they haue suche opinion in me, sens other mens councelles heretofore haue appered glorygous at the fyrste face: but at lengthe my counsaile hath euer proued beste and moste for the common welthe. The seconde thynge is, that I shoulde for euyll wyl go aboute to hynder the glory of this valyaunt consull, that daily groweth and encreaseth. Frome whyche suspition, yf neyther my fascion of lyuynge and maners, nor the offyce of Dictatour, whiche I haue borne, nor the roume of a consull, whiche I haue fyue times enioyed: neyther the greate glorye, that I haue wonne both in the tyme of peace and warre, wyl delyuer and pourge me: lette myne age at the least deliuer me therefro. For what indifferent contention can be betwene me and hym that in yeres may not matche my sonne? When I was dictatour, the mayster of the horses laboured so to the senate, that he was made equall with me in auctorityе and rule: whyche thynge neuer was seene before. Yet neuer manne herde me, eyther priuyly or openly refuse theyr ordre therin. For I hadde leauer to gette by my deedes than by my woordes, that he whyche was by other mennes iudgement compared with me, shoulde shortely after by his owne confessyon gyue me the prefer-

preferrement. Moche leſſe nowe, whan I haue ſo oft borne theſe honourable offices, dooe I intende to ſtryue with this flouryſhynge younge manne. I letted Anniball of his victory, to the intent he myghte nowe be vanquyſhed of you that be luſty and ſtronge. Reaſon woulde, Pub. Cornelius, that ye ſhoulde be contented (ſens I dyd neuer ſette more by myne owne fame & honour, or the fame of the people, than I dyd by the common welth) although I do not now preferre your honour and laudis before the common welth. Neuer the leſſe in caſe there were no warre in Italy, or elles ſuche an ennemy, by whoſe vanquyſhing ſmall honour were to be gotten: than he that would kepe the in Italy (although the commune welthe were therby ſomewhat auaunced) myght ſeeme to go aboute to take thy glory from the. But ſens Anniball is our ennemy, who hath with his hooſte theſe. xiiii. yeeres vexed Italy: ſhouldeſt thou P. Cornelius, thynke the to loſe honour, if by thy proweſſe, beynge conſull, thou canſte expelle and driue hym out of this cuntrey, who hath been the cauſe of ſo many of our mens ſlaughter, and of our ſo great diſtruction? Wherby as Lucatius bare away the honourable title of fynyſhyng the firſte warre with the Carthaginenſes: euen ſoo nowe thou mayſte obteyne the prayſe of fynyſhing this warre. Oneleſſe thou doeſt thynke, that Amilcar than capitayn, was to be preferred before Anniball: or that warre before this: or that victory to be more noble and glorious, than this ſhall be to the, if it be thy chaunce (being conſull) to ouercome? Thinkeſt thou it more honour, to deliuer Spayne frome our ennemies than to delyuer Italy? Anniball is no ſuche man, but that who ſo euer wyll choſe to warre in an other place, muſte be reckened rather to feare hym, than to diſpyſe hym. Make the redy therfore, and thynke not to fetche a compaſſe aboute the buſſhe, to goo before in to Affrica, to the intente Anniball ſhoulde folowe the: but goo the nexte waye to woorke, and where ſo euer Anniball be, thyther dyrecte thy warre. Nature gyueth, that a manne ſhould fyrſt defend his owne countrey: or he inuade or aſſaile an other lande. Lette there firſte be peace in Italy, before there be warre in Affrica. And lette feare be fyrſte expelled from vs, or it be driuen vpon other. Yf thou canſte by thy gouernaunce do bothe, fyrſte ouercome Anniball here: and then after aſſayle Carthage. Our treaſo-

rye is not able to finde .ii. greate armyes: one here, and an o-ther in Affrica. And if it were sufficient to fynde P. Licinius one host in Italy, and P. Scipio an other also in Affrica: what yf it shuld chance (as god forbyd, yet suche happes haue hap-ped and maie dooe agayne) that Anniball dyd ouercome Li-cinius, and were comynge towardes Rome: Myght we call the frome Affrica, as we dydde call Quintus Fuluius frome Capua to our succours? Ye, and in Affrica also the fortune of warre is doubtfull and variable. Lette thyne owne howse or familie be to the a warnyng. Were not thy father and thyn vncle slayne, with theyr hoostes, and all within thyrty dayes space? Yet hadde they before amonge straunge nations, both by sea and by lande, gotten greatte renoume to the cytie of Rome and all theyr posterytie. The daye woulde fayle me, or I made an ende, yf I shoulde reaken vp the names of kyn-ges and capyteynes, whyche rashelye haue inuaded the landes of theyr ennemyes, to the vtter vndooynge of theym and theyr armyes. The Athenienses, leauynge warre at home, sente a noble yonge man capyteyne, with an huge na-uye into Sicilia, where beynge ouerthrowen in oone battaile, they hadde suche losse, that their common welthe was cleane subuerted for euer. This outwarde exaumple is to auncient. Let the same Affrica, and the losse of our owne consulle M. Attilius, there taken by the Carthaginenses, and their fren-des, be to vs a document. In compary son of Affrica, Publi-us Scipio, the countreyes of Spayne be but a play or a game. The estates of theym be nothynge lyke. For at thy passynge into Spayne thou dyddeste sayle by the costes of Italye and Fraunce, and dyddest arryue with thy nauye in the citie of oure friendes. Where settynge thy men on lande, thou by sure wayes were conueyed to Tarracon, the friendes also of the Romaynes. Frome Tarracon, thou camest to the ryuer of Iberus, where thou foundeste that noble capytayne L. Martius, & many fyers Romain souldiours, left of the armies of thy father and thyne vncle. And sone after newe Carthage was wonne: bicause none of the .iii. hostes of the Carthagy-nenses, came to the succour and defence of the citie and their fellowes. These thynges I cannot so greatly praise: but tou-chynge the warres in Affrica, they shall be founde farre vn-lyke. For there shalte thou fynde no hauen open for our army

and

and nauie, no grounde peaſyble, no citye of oure fryende-
ſhyppe, no kynge our frende. Alſo no place mete for vs, ey-
ther to abyde vppon, or to goo forewardes on. Wherefore
whereſoeuer thou looke, thou ſhalte ſee all full of thyne en-
nemyes. Wylte thou beleeue Syphax and the Numidians?
Lette it ſuffyſe the, that thou dyddeſt ones beleue hym. Fo-
lyſſhe hardyneſſe doothe neuer proſpere: Deceyte doothe
ſoo order it ſelfe in ſmalle thynges, that faythe may be geuen
to it: to the intent in great thynges he may deceiue with gret
aduauntage. Thy father and vncle were not oppreſſed by the
armour of their ennemies: til they were firſt deceiued by their
owne felowes and fals friendes the Celtiberiens. Ye thy ſelfe
were neuer in ſo great ieopardy through Mago and Aſdrubal
capiteines of thyne ennemies, as thou were in by Indibilis
and Mandonius, princis of Spaine: whome thou diddeſt take
to be thy very frendes. Thyne owne Romain ſouldiors haue
of late rebelled agaynſt the: and wilt thou nowe truſt the Nu
mydians? Bothe Syphax and Maſſaniſſa, touchyng the do-
minion or rule in Affrica, wil preferre theim ſelues before the
Carthaginenſes: yet wyl they gladlier ſuffer the Carthagine-
ſes to beare rule there, then any ſtranger. Nowe is there con-
tention & debate betwene them: bicauſe they be not fraied with
any forein power: but ſo ſone as the Romain army ſhal appere
before theim, they wil ſtraight ioyne them ſelfes together. As
in a towne where fier is in a houſe, people wyll aſſemble toge-
ther to the quenchyng thereof, for feare of a common hurt or
danger. Ye ſhal ſee the Carthaginenſes defend theyr walles of
their town and cuntrey, their tēples, their owne houſes, with
their wiues and yong thildren, of an other ſort then they defē-
ded Spayne. And what if the Carthaginenſes, makyng peace
with the kynges that be theyr neyghbours, truſtynge to the
ſtrength of their townes, & perceyuing Italy to be made bare
of men of warre by thy coming thither with ſuch a power, wil
ſende a newe army from Affrica into Italy, or wyll commande
Mago, who is already come to the coſtes of the Liguriens,
to ioyne with Annibal with all his power: Then ſhall we be
in the ſame caſe, wherein we were when Aſdrubal paſſed the
mounteynes, and was deſcended into Italy. The more ſtron-
ger and valyant Capytaine that thou arte, the moore oughte
we and all Italy to reioyce, and to keepe the ſtyll amonge vs.

Thou

Thou canst not deny thy self, but that where Anniball is, there is the head and strength of all this warre. And thou sayst, that thy goinge into Affrica shall be to drawe Anniball thyther, soo that whether it be here or there, with Annibal thou must chefly haue to do. And then I praye the aunswere me, Shalt thou be more sure in Affrica, beinge there alone, or here in Italye, hauinge the other consull thy felowe and his host ioyned with the? And if thou wilte seke the experience therof, let Claudius and Liuius, the late consulles, be to the an exaumple and a lernynge. Agayne, whether shall Anniball be stronger in the lyttle angle of the Brutiens, wherunto he is dryuen with his hole hoste, or when he shall come to Carthago, hauynge al his friendes of Affrica about hym? What a deuise is this, to chose rather to fyghte and to trye with thyne ennemie, where thy power shall be smaller by the halfe, and thine ennemies power doubled: then to fyght in a place, where thou shalte haue two armies against his one? ye and that one worne and weried with longe and greuous warre. Consydre thy selfe, howe moche this thy counsayle varieth frome the mynde of thy father, he beinge fully appoynted to Spayne, as his prouynce, fearynge the comynge of Anniball into Italy, to the intent to mete hym at his descendinge from the mountaynes, lefte his owne prouynce, and came into Italy. But nowe thou, when Annibal is al redy in Italy, intendest to leaue Italy: Not for that it is for the common welthe so to do, but therby to purchase the a noble and glorious name. But O ye noble fathers conscripte, I do thinke, that P. Corn. Scipio was not made consull for his owne priuate welthe or pleasure, but for the common welthe, and the safegarde of all vs. Neyther were the armies of men of warre appoynted to hym, to thintent, be lyke a prynce mighte sayle with them into what part of the world he wyll. But they were assigned to him, and to all other his predecessours, for the safegarde and defence of this citie and of Italy.

¶ With this oration of Fabius, beinge a man of great authoritie wisedome experience and fame, the more part of the auncient senatours were perswaded: and mo men allowed the sobre counsayle of the olde man, then the fyerse mynde of Scipio the yonge manne. Wherfore Scipio made vnto hym this aunswere.

¶ The

¶ The aunſwere of P. Cornelius Scipio, to the oration of Q. Fabius Maximus: And of his sayinge into Sicilia with his armye. Cap. ix.

QUintus Fabius in the beginning of his oratiõ (fathers conſcript) ſaid, that in the declaration of his opinyon he mighte be ſuſpected to ſpeke of euill wylle and enuy: but it is not I that do accuſe ſo great & ſo noble a man therof: Although I doo not perceyue the ſame ſuſpition as yet to be by him ſufficiẽtly auoyded, whether the defaulte therof be in the deformitie of his oration, or for lacke of good matter, I knowe not. But this I well perceiue, that to auoyde the crime or ſuſpition of enuy, he hath ſo extolled his owne honour, with the fame of his noble actes, as though it ſhuld not becom him, or ſtand with his honor, to contende with me, being my ſelfe but a childe, vnder the age of his ſonne. Conſiderynge the great offices that he hath borne in the citie, wherby as it ſemeth, his meanynge is, that the deſyre of glory ſhulde be meaſured onely, by the length of the lyfe of man, and not extende to be had in perpetuall memory with our poſteritie. But this I knowe well, that euery noble herte hathe a couetous deſyre to be equiualent in famouſe vertue, not only with the age preſent, but alſo with the people of al ages, both paſt and yet to come. And (onles I wold diſſemble) truly Q. Fabius, my wyll is not only to be equall vnto the in renowme, but alſo to paſſe the in prayſes, yf I may atteyne therynto. Lette neyther of vs bothe thynke, that none that ſhall come after vs, ſhall be lyke vnto vs. For that were a deſyre of greate hurt and hynderaunce, bothe of our poſteritie, and alſo of the common welth, and generally of all mankynde. Furthermore, Fabius hath remembred the ieoperdies and peryls, that I ſhulde entre into, by my goynge into Affrica, as though he were carefull bothe for me and myne army. I merualle greatly, from whens this louing care and thought for me is ſo ſodeinly ſpronge. For whan my father and myn vncle wer bothe ſlayne, and bothe theyr armies almoſte diſtroied, ſlayne, and cleane loſte, the Affricanes ouerrounnynge the countrey with .iiii. ſeuerall hooſtes and capytaines: than woulde no man offre hym ſelfe to be a capitayne of the Romaines in Spayne,

but onely I. At whyche tyme, whan the people of the citie made me gouernor, being thā but. xxiiii. yeres old, there was no man founde, whiche would remembre my tendre age: neyther the power of our ennemies, the daungerousnes of battayle, nor yet the late death and destruction of my frendes in Spayne. Is there nowe in Affrica any greatter armies or better capitaines, than were than in Spayne? Was mine age at that tyme more mete for the warre, thanne it is nowe? or is it greater matter to fight with our enemies of Affrica in Spayn, than it is in Affrica? As it is nowe easy to auaunce my selfe of iiii. armies of Carthage, by me distroied: after so many cities taken by force, after so many princes and wylde nations subdued, and all Spaine won vnto the occean sea, so that none apparence is lefte there of any warre: Likewise after my victorious returne from Affrica, it shalbe as easie to set forthe the ouercominge of all thinges, whiche nowe be laide very terryble and dangerdus: only to the intent to kepe me stil at home. Fabius demeth, that I shal haue no hauens or portes open for me to enter. He also remembreth the taking of M. Attilius Regulus in Affrica: as though M. Attilius had his fall at his firste arrinall into that countreye. Where of trueth he hadde hauens open and entre at his pleasure, ye by the space of an hole yere he did many noble actes there: Whome the Carthaginenses were neuer able of their owne power to subdue, till the seconde yere after his coming, and many of his host slaine. They sent for Xantippus, capitayne of the Lacedemonians, with his power: by whome he was at lengthe ouercome and taken in battayle. This exaumple can nothing feare me. For why shoulde I more feare to sayle into Affrica bycause of the taking of M. Attilius, then I was afrayd to saile into Spaine after the deathe of bothe the Scipions? And I truste Xantippus the Lacedemonien was not born to be more fortunate to the Carthaginenses, then I shalbe to the Romayns and to mine owne countrey. The tale muste be recited of the Athenienses, howe fondely leauynge warre at home, they entred into Affrica: But why doest thou not reherse the historie of Agathocles, king of the Syracusanes? Who when his countrey of Sicilia had ben long troubled with warre by the Carthaginenses, he with his host sailed ouer into Affrica: whereby he delyuered his owne countrey from warre, and tourned

all

all to the defence of hym & his power in Affrica. But to ſhewe the commoditie of inuadinge of a foreyne countreye, thereby to auoyde ieopardyes at home: what better example can any man reherſe, then of this Annibal? There is greate difference betwene the ſyght of bournynge and ſpoylyng of other mennes countreyes: and the ſyght of the deſtruction of thine owne cities and regyons. There is more courage in a manne, that offrethe battayle, then in him that defendethe. Lyttell thoughte Annball at his fyrſt comyng to Italye, that ſo many cities and people wolde haue yelded them vnto him as did after the battail at Cannas: moch leſſe cauſe ſhal the Carthaginenſes haue of truſte or hoope in Affrica, conſideringe their vntruthes to their neyghbours, & their owne proud and cruel dominion ouer their ſubiectes. We beynge forſaken of our neyghbours, haue ſtil endured al dangers by our owne power and ſtrength. The Carthaginenſes haue no great ſtrength of their owne. Their power is in hyred ſouldiours of Affrica and Numidia, whoſe lyghte wyttes cauſe lyghte faythe, when they ſe cauſe of chaunge. Yf ye ſuffer me to depart hence, with ſpede, ye ſhall ſhortely heare of my paſſage thither, and of the warre wherewith I ſhal vexe theim. And then ſhal ye ſee Annibal make ſpede to departe from this countreye: and ye ſhall heare ſhortely of the ſyege of Carthage: not doubtynge, but that ye ſhal receiue gladder tydynges from Affrica, then euer ye had fro me out of Spayne. Theſe hopes I do conceyue. Fyrſte of the fortune of this citie and people of Rome. Secondely, throughe the truſte of the goddes, whiche are witneſſes of the truſe broken by theim. Thyrdely, that occaſyon offered by Syphax and Maſſaniſſa, to whoſe promyſe and faythe I wyll ſoo truſte, that I wyll alſo be well ware of theyr falſehode and dyſceipte. And it is the parte of a manne and a good capyteyne, not to ſhrynke and forſake fortune, when it is offered. I knowe well Quintus Fabius, that I ſhall find Annibal my matche: but I wyll rather drawe hym, then he ſhall retire me. I wyll cauſe him to fyght with me in his owne cuntrey. And Carthage ſhall rather be a pray and a rewarde of our victory: then the countrey and caſtelles of the Brutians, whyche are almoſt dyſtroyed already. Howe when ye ſay, Italye ſhalbe in daungier by my departynge hens, I praye you, may not P. Licinius the conſull (whyles I am ſaylynge thyther)

ther) staye with his hoste Anniball, that is nowe of small power: aswell as thou M. Fabius, dyddest staye him, when he as a conquerour ouerranne all Italy? Yt shall be a greate honour to the Romayns, and an eternal fame among kinges and strange nations, that we haue the courage not only to defend Italy, but also to enter & make warre in Affrica. What shame shal it be when it shall be sayde, that Anniball enterprised an act, that no Romayne capiteyn euer durste enterprise: When contention was betwene vs and the Carthaginenses for Sicilia, our nauies and armies often times inuaded Affrica: Nowe when contention is for Italye betwene vs, Affrica remaineth quiet and in peace. But nowe let Italy take rest, & be in peace, whiche of long tyme hath ben vexed, and let Affrica an other season suffer bournynge spoylynge and wastyng. And let the puissaunt Romayne army approche the walles of Carthage: rather then we should with bulwarkes and fortifycations defende our ennemies from our owne walles. Let Affrica be from henseforthe the place of warre. Let feare, flieng, fleing, wastynge of fyeldes and other dystructions, belongynge to warre, be nowe tourned thyther, whiche by the space of. xiiii. yeres hath inuaded our countrey.

¶ After this aunswere of Scipio, greate stryfe and altercacion was in the senate house. At the laste it was decreed, that Scipo, with thyrty shyppes shulde go into Sicilia, and from thence at his pleasure, yf he thoughte it most conuenicnte for the common welthe, to sayle ouer into Affrica: the other cõsul to kepe warre in the countrey of the Brutians against Anniball. Besydes these shyppes, and the Romayne legyons, whiche were appoynted to Scipio, many cities and cuntreys adioyning to Rome, willingly ayded him with shyppes, with vii. thousande souldiours, and all thinges necessarye, of their owne costes and charges. With whiche noumbre he arriued in Sicilia, and there deuyded theim into companyes, appointynge to euery company an hundred men. Amonge al whiche nomber, he chose oute thre hunderd of the mooste valyant and actife yonge men, that were withoute armour: whom he kept euer aboute hym. But they knewe not to what pourpose he mente it. And on a daie he chose and named. iii. ¶ of the most noble and rycheste yonge gentylmen of all Sicilia, whome he sayde, should sayle with him into Affrica: assygninge theym a

daye,

day, at whiche they ſhuld appere before him with theyr horſe and armour. This commaundement troubled theim ſore, and to be ſo farre frō home with the labours by land and by ſea, ſemed very painful, not onely to theim, but alſo to their frendes and kinſefolkes. At the daye appointed for their retorne, they came all before him, bringing with theim horſes harneis and al thinges neceſſary. Then ſaid Scipio: It is ſhewed me, that certaine of you, men of armes of Sicilia, grudge ſore to go in this iourneye with me: Wherefore if there be anye of you here, of that mynd, I pray you ſpeake nowe, and I wil gladly heare you. For I had moche leauer, that ye vttered it nowe betymes: then that ye ſhuld agaynſt your hertes go forth, and become vnprofitable ſouldiors to me and to the cōmon welth. Wherevnto one of the. iii. C. anſwered: Truely ſyr, yfit were in my choyſe and election, what I ſhulde do, I woulde not go forthe in the warres. Well, ſayde Scipio: Sence ye haue playnely declared your mynde without diſſimulation, I wyll appoynte one in your place, to whome ye ſhall delyuer youre horſe, harneyes, and other neceſſarye inſtrumentes of warre, whome ye ſhall take home with you to youre howſe, and there teache inſtruct and exercyſe hym in feates of warre, tyll I ſende for hym agayne. Of this bargaine the yong gentylman was verie ioyefull, and delyuerynge him all his appareyll for the warre, he toke him home with him. When the reſte of the three hundred men of armes of Sicilia, perceiued their companion by this meane diſmyſſed from the warre, with the good loue and fauour of the Capytayne: euery one of theym alſo beganne to make his excuſe, and deſyred to haue Scipio to appoynte other in theyre roumes. Whyche he gladdelye dydde, and by this meane he horſed, harneyſed, and inſtructed the three hundred wyllynge Romaynes, that were vnarmed, with the horſes and harneys of the knyghtes of Sicilia, withoute anye charge of the ſtocke of the cytie of Rome: Whyche proued after valiaunte menne of armes, and dydde manye noble actes for the aduauncemente of the common welth. Than Scipio ſerched out ſuche ſouldiours as warred vnder Marcellus the conſull, at the wynnyng of Syracuſa, whom he choſe chiefly: for that he iudged theim to be expert in aſſaultyng and ſcalyng of townes and caſtelles. For euen than he imagined the wynnyng of great Carthage. Sone

after he sette menne a worke to make shyppes with speede, and to amende and to repayre his olde shyppes. Which done he sent L. Lelius, with a good numbre of men into Affrica, to spoyle robbe and wast the sea costes: where he landed in the nyghte. And in the dawnynge of the daye, settynge his men in good order, he spoyled the fieldes, distroyed and slewe manye of the Affricans: whiche loked lyttell for any suche sodeyn inuasion, they had so longe continued in pleasure and ease. The fame of the destruction came anone to Carthage: the messangers noysed abrode, that Scipio was arriued. For they hadde herde before, that he was alredy come into Sicilia: and they were so sodeinly taken, that for feare they coulde tell the certayntie of nothynge, neyther of the numbre of the Romaynes, nor of theyr shyppes: But feare caused theim to make mochе more therof then it was in dede. The citezens of Carthage were then in a meruaylous feare and pensifenesse, beholdynge the sodeyne chaunge of fortune, that of late had so aduaunced them, that theyr army lay before the gates of Rome: and their capytaines had almost subdued al Italy: Nowe contrary wise, they loked for none other, but the spoyling of theyr countrey, and the besieginge of Carthage by the Romaynes. When they considered their helpe, they founde theyr citezens, and menne of theyr owne countrey about them, weake and nothyng mete for the warre. All theyr strength was in hyred souldiours frō other partes of Affrica: and they were wauerynge people, vntrewe and vnstedfast. They also rekened Syphax to be turned from them by the secrete cōmunication, that Scipio had with hym: and Massanissa was apparently become theyr ennemye. Of Mago they had no tidinges of his remouing from Gene, and goinge into Italy to ioyne his hoste with Annibals hoste: and the fame, and also the strengthe of Annibal was waxed faynte.

¶ When they had all hole consydered theyr wofull state and condition: then began the senatours to counsayle and prouide for helpe in theyr present necessitie. They mustered theyr men, both in the citie & without. They hyred many souldiours Affricans. They vytayled theyr citie: they amended theyr shippes, they prouided harnesse and all other thynges nedefull.

¶ When they were thus busy, true tidinges came, that it was not the capitayne Scipio, that was arryued: it was Lelius,

that

that with certayne ſhyppes and menne was come to robbe and ſpoyle the countrey onely. And that the great reſt of the army was yet in Sicilia. With theſe newes they were ſomewhat comforted: and then they deuyſed to ſende embaſſadours to Syphax, and to other princes aboute theim, for a ſure aliance and frendſhyp. They ſent alſo to Phillip kyng of Macedonia, promyſynge hym great ſummes of money, to inuade eyther Italy or Sicilia with a great hoſt. Into Italy alſo were meſſangers ſent, to cauſe the capitayns Annibal & Mago to ſtay Scipio in Italy. To Mago was ſente. xxv. longe ſhyppes. vi. M. fotemen. viii. C. horſemen, and. vii. elephantes, with greate plenty of money, to hyre mo men in thoſe parties, willyng him with all his ſtrengthe to remoue towardes the citie of Rome, and ioyne his hoſt with Annibals. This preparation made the Carthaginenſes.

¶ When the ſhippes of Carthage were arriued at Gene, they founde there Mago with his army and nauy of ſhyppes: who knowyng the mynde of the Carthaginenſes, called before him a great numbre of frenchemen and Liguriens, vnto whome he ſhewed, that he was ſent into thoſe parties to purchaſe theim lybertie, and delyuer them from bondage, wherin they hadde longe ben holden. He declared alſo to them, how M. Liuius, and Sp. Lucretius laye with theyr two Romayne armies not farre from them. The one in Hetruria, the other in Fraunce. Whoſe powers to reſyſt, he neded to haue a great aſſemble of people. Then the frenchemen aunſwered, that theyr hertes & myndes were holly to ſerue hym therin. But they ſayd, there was an hoſt of Romaynes all redy in theyr countrey: whiche if they dyd perceyue, that Mago were ayded by theym, they wolde incontinent waſt and deſtroy theyr countrey. Wherfore they deſyred, that the Liguriens might helpe hym: who were nothynge ſo nere daunger, and they wolde priuely helpe hym with vittayles and all thynges neceſſarye, to the beſte of theyr power. Wherunto the Liguriens agreed, and deſyred two monthes ſpace, to aſſemble and take muſters of theyr beſte ſoudiours.

¶ Marcus Liuius, herynge that Mago gathered to gether ſo great a numbre of people: he remoued with his hoſte in to Fraunce, and ioyned hym ſelfe to Sp. Lucretius, lyinge euer in awayte to mete with Mago, ſo ſone as he remouynge from

the

the Liguriens wolde offer to entre into Italye, and take his iourney towardes Rome. But in case Mago wolde rest in the angle of the mounteynes without further procedynge: then they lyke wyse wold abyde about Arminius, euer redy for the defence of Italy.

¶ The complaynt of the Locrenses to the senatours of the cruell gouernaunce of Q. Pleminius. Cap. lxi.



Massanissa hearynge of the arriuaile of a Romayne army in Affrica, with a small numbre of horsemen cam to Lelius, to whom he complayned moche of the slowenes of Scipio, that he hadde not all that tyme ben in Affrica with his great power: consyderinge the lowe ebbe that the Carthaginenses were broughte vnto, and also seynge that Syphax was now busyed with warre with the prynces adioynynge vnto hym. Whom (he sayde) he knew suerly, after that he had brought his owne purpose to good effecte, and had leiser to settle all his owne busynes, that then he wolde obserue no promise or bonde, that he had before made to the Romains. So lyttle good faythe he knewe to be in hym. Wherfore he desyred Lelius, to moue and styre Scipio, to make hast thyther, and he wolde not fayle (although he were dryuen out of his owne realme) to mete with hym soone after his landinge, with a good numbre bothe of horsemen and of fotemen.

¶ On the morowe after Lelius departed, with his shippes loded with theyr pray, landed in Sicilia: where he found Scipio, to whom he declared the mynde and message of Massanissa. Wherupon he had shortly set forwardes into Affrica, had he not hearde comforte of the wynnynge of Locres, a citie in the vttermost parte of Italy, that then was holden by the Carthaginenses. Whiche citie in shorte tyme he obteyned, partly by treason of certayne carpenters, that wrought in the castell, partly by the fauour of the citezens therof. Who beinge greuously oppressed by Amylcar the capitayne, and other Carthaginenses of the garrison, that ceassed not to vse all kyndes of oppression ouer them: at the last consented to receyue the Romaynes into the towne. Whiche brought to passe, Scipio returned to Sicilia, leauynge behynde hym Q. Pleminius capitayne

rayne of the towne, with a garryſon ſufficient for the kepinge of the ſame. After whoſe departynge, Pleminius with his ſouldyours, farre paſſed Amylcar and the Carthaginenſes in pride auaryce and all other vyces. So that it ſeemed, they ſtroue not, who ſhuld ouercome other in feates of armes: but who ſhuld excede other in vice. They ſpared nother mens wiues maidens nor doughters: they exercyſed cruell rapine of mens goodes, and ſpoilyng of temples. Wherof the citizens beynge wery, ſent meſſage of complaint to Scipio the conſul. whervpon he eftſones came to Locrus, where he had al their matters debated, and at length punyſhed certayne of theim by empryſonmente: and after departed, leauynge ſtyll Q. Pleminius capitayne there, with no leſſe auctority then he had before. But after he departed, Pleminius wyllinge to execute his malice ouer his ennemies, put certayne of theym to cruell deathe: whiche before had complayned of him to the conſull. His ſouldiours alſo were afterwarde more cruell and vnrulye then they were before. Therfore they ſent legates to Rome, with greuous complaynte to the ſenate, of the manyfolde iniuries, hurtes, and cruell paynes, that they ſuffered: moche more by the Romaynes, then euer they hadde by the Carthaginenſes. Whoſe complaynte beynge well and delyberately herd in the ſenate, Quintus Fabius, replete with olde malyce agaynſt Scipio, to ſet forthe his neglygence, inquired of the legates, whether they had neuer before that time ſhewed their cauſe to the conſul Scipio. They aunſwered, that at their firſt complaynt, he herd the matter, and then putting the tribunes in pryſon, he let Pleminius go at libertie, and put him again in auctority: although he was worthy more puniſhement then the other. But at their ſecond complaynt made to him by their legates, he was ſo buſied aboute the ſetting forewardes of his ſhippes & men into Affrica, that he could not attend to here or examine their matter. Then was there gret reproch ſpoken of Scipio, by many of the princes of the ſenate, ſpecially Q. Fabius alleged, that he was born to corrupt and diſtroy al warlike policy and lernyng, by his ouermoche ſufferãce and giuing of libertie. Some would haue had Pleminius brought to Rome bound, and Scipio called frõ his prouince. At the laſte the ſentence of Q. Metellus toke place, whiche was, that it was good, to ſend for Pleminius, according to the

mynde of Fabius. But as touching Scipio, whom the whole citie fyrste had chosen in his youth to be a capitaine in Spayn, and he according to theyr expectation had delyuered the hole countrey out of the handes of their ennemies: wherypon they also of late had chosen hym consull, to subdue Affrica, and to deliuer Italy of Annball: he thought it not meete for suche a noble man to be sodainly condemned, his cause not being duly herd and debated, or to haue him called frome his iourney, without a greatter cause than this was. Consideringe that the Locrenses could lay no defaut to Scipio, but only ouermuch sufferance of Pleminius. Wherfore he thought it best, that M. Pomponius, with. ii. tribunes, shuld be sent to Locrus, & frō thens to Sicilia, to examyne & trie, whether the wronges done to the Locrēses, wer done by the cōmandement or assent of P. Scipio or not. And in case he were consentyng therto: then that they shuld cōmand him to returne to Rome: & other legates to occupy his place, or els that he shoulde continue in his purpose and iourney into Affrica, as he had appoynted.

¶ According to this sentence Pomponius, with. ii. tribunes & other legates, came to Locrus, makyng proclamation, that yf any man wold accuse Pleminius, Scipio, or any other mā, that they shulde come before theim, and they shuld be well herde. The Locrenses gyuyng great thankes to the Romaines, for the goodnes therin to them shewed, answered, that they wold accuse Pleminius, as chief doer of all the mischief, and certain other with him. But as touching Scipio, they had nothynge to charge hym withal: but that he eyther gaue ouermoch credēce to Pleminius, or to litell faith to their wordes. But they sayd, they knewe wery well, that the wronges to theim done, were neither by the wyll nor commaundement of Scipio: but they thought hym to be of the nature of many men, which are sory, that any wronge or offence shulde be committed, and yet whan the iniuries be done, they haue not the hertes or willes to reuenge or punishe the offenders of the same.

¶ With this aunswere M. Pomponius, and the other, were moch eased of any further inquirie of Scipios matter. Wherfore they toke Pleminius, and. xxx. other of his complices, that were founde gyltie of dyuers greatte offences, and sente them bound to Rome: where Pleminius dyed in prison. Sone after the other wer put to condigne execution. Then thought they

they to go to Scipio, to ſee, whether the ſclaunder ſpoken of his ſlouthe in gouernaunce, or of the myſorder of his hooſte, were true or not: that they myght therof make true reporte, whan they were returned to Rome.

¶ Scipio hearyng of their coming, cauſed all his army to repayre to Syracuſa, where he than lay: and alſo cauſed his nauy of ſhyppes, to be ſette furthe and ordered in all poyntes, as though he ſhulde the ſame day haue fought with the Carthaginenſes, bothe by water and by lande. Whan Pomponius, and the other embaſſadours were come, he gentilly and louingly receiued them. he ſhewed them his army on the land in array redy to fight: his nauy alſo on the ſea, he ſhewed them not onely redy to battaile, but makyng a ſhew of a fight in the hauen. Than ledde he them to his garners of corne: and into his armory and ſtore houſes of ordinance and artillary, and all inſtrumentes of warre. Who ſeing al his prouiſion and order, were ſtriken with a great admiration of hym and his conduict: iudgyng that through his gouernance and his army, the Carthaginenſes ſhoulde be ouercome: or elles it were neuer poſſyble for theim to be ſubdewed. Wherfore deſyrynge the goddis to proſpere welle his iourneye, they departed frome hym, takynge theyr waye to Rome with greatte ioye, as though they were goinge to bryngе tydynges to Rome of victory, rather than to report the meruayloufe preparation towarde battayle, whiche they hadde ſeene in Sicilia. Whanne they came into the ſenate howſe, they extolled the fame and actes of Scipio after ſuche ſorte, that they ſent hym worde incontinent, to departe towardes Carthage, takynge with him whom he wolde, leauynge behynd hym for the defence of Sicilia certaine at his pleaſure.

¶ King Syphax marieth the daughter of Aſdruball, he ſendeth letters to Scipio, willing him to abſtein from any warre in Affrica, with the aunſwere and dyſſimulation of Scipio vnto the ſame. Scipio arryueth in Affrica with his hooſt, to whom cometh Maſſaniſſa. Ca. lxii.

VUhyles the Romaynes made this great ordynance for the warre: the Carthaginenſes, fearing greatly the coming of Scipio, prepared as moche as they coulde for

theyr defence and strengthe. Wherfore to plucke Syphax from the amitie of the Romaynes, Asdrubal, the sonne of Gisgon made hast to fynishe a maryage betwene Syphax and his daughter, that was a very fayre mayden. The kynge being inflamed with loue, made hast also to be maried. Then Asdrubal, besides his particular aliance, made a newe general bonde of amitie betwene hym and the Carthaginenses, with greate solempnitie and othes takynge: promisynge faythfully, that the friendes and ennemies of the one, shulde also be the friendes or ennemies to the other. Neuer the lesse Asdruball remembringe the promyse of amytie, that the kynge had ones made with Scipio, when he was lodged with him in his palais: knowynge the mutabilitie and vnstedfastnes of those barbarous nations, and fearynge leste if that Scipio were ones arryued in Affrica, that the bande of mariage wolde be but lyttel worthe: Therfore whyles the loue was feruent betwene the kyng and his daughter, he by his greate desyre, and his daughter also with her fayre entreatynge, caused the kynge to sende his embassadours to Scipio into Sicilia, with letters, gyuynge hym warnynge, that he shulde not vpon the truste of any promise to hym before made by the kynge, sayle ouer into Affrica: aduertisynge hym, that he had maryed the daughter of one Asdruball of Carthage, whom Scipio mette in his palaice, when he arriued in Affrica. Furthermore he sayde, he was in a greate leage and amitie with the people of Carthage. Wherfore he desyred hym and the Romaynes, if they wolde warre with the Carthaginenses, that they do it farre from Carthage, as they haue done heretofore, that he shulde not nede to be present at theyr battailes. For in case Scipio wold not forbeare Affrica, but lay siege to Carthage, he coulde no lesse do, but fighte for the defence of his countrey of Affrica, in which he was gotten borne and brought vp: and for the defence of the countrey of his wyfe, for her father and family.

¶ With these letters came the messangers to the citie of Syracusa to Scipio, who perceiued by the contentes of the same, that he shuld haue great lacke of the kynges helpe, in his busines of Affrica: yet he set forth a countenaunce, kepynge secrete the cause of theyr coming, tyll he had sent them home agayne to the kynge with letters: wherin he moued him, neuer to breake the promise that he ones made hym, nor swarue from

the

the faith and amitie made with the Romains, wherof the goddes were witneſſes. When the meſſangers wer departed with his letters, Scipio fearing, leſt his ſoudiours wold muſe moch and deuiſe alſo of the cauſe of the comynge of the ſayd meſſangers, to hyde the ſayd cauſe from them, and to put them in courage, he diſſembled the matter, and callinge his men to gether ſayde to them.

¶ Sirs nowe is the ful tyme for vs to depart henſe into Affrica, without further tarieng. For the kinges our friendes haue ſent vnto vs, inſtantly deſiring vs, to make ſpede. Fyrſt Maſſaniſſa came to Lelius, complaining greatly of our tractynge of tyme. And nowe Syphax hath alſo ſent vnto vs, marueylynge why we tary ſo longe. Deſiringe that we wyll eyther ſhortlye come ouer to him, or els in caſe we be otherwiſe minded, to certifie hym by writing: that therupon he maye prouyde for hym ſelfe and his countrey. Wherfore ſens al thinges is now redy, and the matter requireth haſt, I intende to leade mine army & nauy to the partes of Libeus: as ſoone as the wether, ſerueth, to depart with the fauour of the gods towardes Affrica.

¶ After theſe wordes to them ſpoken, he ordered al thynges for his departynge, and ſoone after came to the ſayde porte, with all his hoſt. All his ſhyppes alſo met him there. The nomber whereof was ſo greatte, that the hauen ſuffyſed not to conteine theym, nor the citie coulde not receyue the men. Of the certainte of the nombre wrytars do not agre. Wherefore I wyll let it paſſe. But it ſemeth, the nomber of the men was greatte, that achyeued ſo greatte an enterpryſe, and for whom ſo gret prouiſiō was made. For there were. iiii. C. ſhippes charged with men vitailes ordinances and other neceſſary cariage, beſides. xx. great and long ſhippes: wherof Scipio him ſelfe, and L. Scipio his brother, toke the gouernance. and other. xx. like ſhippes vnder the rule of C. Lelius his admyrall of the ſea. Whiche. xl. great ſhippes thus deuided, ſailed euer on both ſydes of the other. iiii. C. as wafters, for the defence of theyr vitayles and cariage. In euery ſhyppe alſo he cauſed to be vittailes and freſhe water for. xlv. dayes: wherof the meate that wolde ſerue for. xv. dayes, was redye ſodden: the other was rawe. Then gaue he commaundement to al his ſouldiours, to kepe peace and ſylence in theyr ſhyps, for troublynge the ſhipmen: and that they ſhulde be redy to do al that

the sayd shypmen desyred them to do, if nede requyred. With this great numbre of shippes and of mẽ, they departed the day folowyng: Euery one of the. xl. long shyppes beinge appointed to haue in the nyght season one lyght, euery one of the .iiii. C. laden shyppes. ii. lyghtes, and the capitaynes chiefe ships for a speciall marke or knowlege, had thre fayre lightes. In the mornynge at the soundinge of a trumpet the vesselles set forth in good order. And Scipio hym selfe at his departynge made his praier openly in the audience of many peple on this maner. ¶ O ye goddes and goddesses, whiche inhabite rule and gouerne both sea and lande, I humbly beseche you, that ye graũt all thynges that I haue done, do, or shall do, may turne to the honour and welthe of me and the citezens of Rome, and that ye wyll be aydynge and assistinge to me in my procedinges: So that our ennemies, beinge ouercome, we maye safe and sounde returne home to our houses, laden with the pray gotten by the spoyle of our ennemies. Graunt ye also, that I may haue power, so to do vnto the people and citie of Carthage, as they haue intended to do to the citie of Rome.

¶ After these wordes, doing sacrifice (after the custome that they vsed) he departed. The wynde was good, and in shorte space toke them from the syght of the lande, and within foure dayes, they were brought vpon the cost of Affrica. Then Scipio seinge a great mounteyne or rocke, lienge out vpon the sea, inquired of the mayster of his shyppe, what was the name of that mountain. He answered, it is named the mount of Beaute. Then sayde Scipio, I lyke the name and the lucke therof very well: in the nexte hauen therto set vs on lande. When the armye was landed, they get them to the nexte hylles, wherupon they pitched theyr tentes, and encamped them selues. Then were the inhabitantes of the sea costes, and all the cõtrey there about, in great feare and trouble, perceyuynge the arriuaile of so great a nauy, euery man fled from those parties, takynge with them theyr wyues theyr chyldren and substance: driuinge before them their cattell to the nexte strong townes, to the great feare of all the countrey, where the newes therof was brought. Specially in Carthage such feare sorowe and trouble inuaded the people, as though theyr citie had ben all redy taken by theyr ennemies. They were then vnprouyded bothe of men of warre, and also of a good capitayne to be their gouernour.

gouernour. The beſt capitayne that they then had, was Aſdrubal the ſonne of Gyſgon, whom Scipio at diuers battelles in Spayne, had before put to flyghte, and at the laſt droue him cleane oute of Spayne, with all his helpers: ſoo that they eſtemed the capitaynes to be as farre vnlyke, as the armye of Carthage was vnlyke to the Romayne hoſte. In this greate feare the gates of the citie were ſhutte, the walles kepte with watche and warde, as thoughe theyr ennemies had ben alredy come before the walles of the towne. Fyue hundred horſemen were alſo ſente forthe to eſpye the conduite of the Romaynes, who by chaunce mette with manye Romayne horſemen, that were ſent out to robbe and ſpoyle the fieldes adioynynge, and were by them put to flyghte, to the greate loſſe of many of the Carthaginenſes.

¶ Sone after the arriuaile of the Romaynes, came Maſſaniſſa to Scipio, bryngynge with hym. ii. C. good men well horſed. His power was then not greate, for he had ben driuen and chaſed out of his owne realme, and was bamſhed by ſtrengthe out of his owne countrey. Whoſe comynge was verye ioyfull and comfortable to the Romaynes. The Carthaginenſes after the loſſe of theyr horſemen, aſſembled againe a newe winge of horſmen, wherof they made gouernor Hanno, the ſon of Amilcar. Then ſent they letters and legates to Aſdruball, to come to the ſuccour of the citie, that was at pointe to be beſyeged. They ſent alſo to kyng Syphax, deſyring him to come to the ſocour & defence both of Carthage & alſo of all Affrica. Then lay the Romaines nere vnto the citie of Utica. Hanno hauyng with him. iiii. M. horſemen, came to the towne of Salera. xv. miles from the Romain campe. When Scipio had knowlege therof, he ſent Maſſaniſſa before, with certayn horſemen with hym to ſkirmiſhe with them at the gates. Commaunding him, that ſo ſone as the multitude of his ennemies were ones come forth, and that he coulde no longer endure theyr ſtrength, that then he ſhuld ſoftly withdrawe him ſelfe towardes the hylles, where he ſhuld fynde hym with his hoſt, redy to ſuccour him. With this inſtructiō Maſſaniſſa departed & rode to the gates of the citie, ſkirmiſhing with ſuch as were at the ſaid gates. many came forth to the battayl, without good order, & then Maſſaniſſa fayning him ſelfe to be afraide, ſomewhat reculed: ſometime he turned again and fought, with them that folowed him.

Thus

Thus he played at base with them, tyll the whole multitude of horsemenne were come furthe of the yates. Than sobrely he withdrewe him selfe tyll he came to the hylles: to which hilles the Romayne horsemen were than couertely come. Than Massanissa fiersely retourned and assayled his ennemies, and the Romaines beinge fresshe them selues, and hauyng fresshe horses, compassed and assailed them that were before almoste weery with chasing Massanissa: so that at the fyrst brunt Hanno him selfe, and a. M. horsemen with hym were slayne. The rest fledde, wherof the Romaynes in the chase slewe and toke other. ii. M. amonge whom wer many noble men of the citie of Carthage. The pray after the victory was greatte. The towne was taken, and the capytains with other men of armes were welle rewarded by Scipio. But aboue other he gaue Massanissa great gyftes, and leauynge a sufficient garrison in the towne, he with his hoste remoued thense: sendynge moche of the pray, whiche he had taken, bothe men, beastes, and other rychesse, by certayne of his shippes into Sicilia: intendyng hym selfe to assayle the citie of Utica, with all his power: whiche yf he myght ones wynne, he reckened to be a restyng place for him and his, tyl the rest of his voiage were acheued.

¶ Thus was the town of Utica besieged round about, & their hope was to haue succours of Asdruball: who had assembled togyther. xxx. M. fotemen, and. iii. M. horsmen. Neuer the lesse for all that numbre, Asdruball durste not sette furthe of Carthage tyll kyng Syphax was also come to hym with fyfty thousande footemen, and. x. M. horsemen. Then set he forewardes, and came nere vnto Utica, pytchinge his tentes and campe not farre from the Romayn army. There came aboute this tyme from Sicilia and Sardinia, great plenty of wheate, to vitaile the Romaines: so that they had therof great plenty. There was also brought thither. xii. C. gownes, and. xii. M. cotes for the souldiours, and prouision was made for all thynges that they lacked. These were the actes of Scipio in Affrica this sommer.

¶ Duryng whych sommer P. Sempronius the consull in Italy fought with Annibal: where the Romayns had the worst, and loste. xii. C. of theyr men. But soone after Sempronius sent for P. Licinius the proconsull, to come to hym with his armye. After whose cõmyng, theyr powers beinge ioyned to gyther,

gether they went towardes Annibal, and he beynge ioyefull of his laſte victory, foughte with theim agayne, to his greate loſſe. For there were aboue. iiii. M. of his men ſlayne, and iii. C. taken. Then Annibal, beynge greately dyſcomforted with this loſſe, retourned from thence to Croton. Sone after the tyme of the choſyng of conſulles was come, at whiche Cn. Seruilius Cepio, and Cn. Seruilius Geminus were create conſulles, & other officers were choſen, according to the olde cuſtome, diuers cities alſo of the Brutiens, as Conſentia, Pandoſia, and other, ſubmytted theym ſelues, and retourned agayne to the Romaynes.

Scipio wiſely eſpieng the maner of his ennemies campes, in the nyght burneth them bothe, putteth Syphax and Aſdrubal to flyght, with great loſſe of theyr men. They make agayn a newe fylde, and are eftſones diſcomfyted and put to flyghte. Cap. lxiii.

The winter drewe nere, and both the gret hoſtes lay encamped not farre from Utica: Yet Scipio neuer ceaſſed from the beſiegynge of the towne, and his campe was in ſyghte of his ennemyes. His mynd was ſtyll vpon his buſynes touching the warre. Amonge other his cares, he deuiſed greatly, by what meanes he myght wynne king Syphax from the Carthaginenſes, iudgyng that the heate of loue, which he had to his yonge wyfe, was by that tyme ſomewhat aſſwaged, and that he was then werye of the pleaſure in loue, beinge (as he thoughte) ſatisfyed therin to his contentation: When he had by legates aſſaied the mynde of the kynge, he made aunſwere, that he wolde intreate of peace betwene the Romains and the Carthaginenſes, Upon this condition, that the Romaynes ſhulde departe cleane out of Affrica, and the Carthaginenſes lykewyſe out of Italy, without further trouble: otherwiſe he wolde not fayle to purſue the warre on the partie of the Carthaginenſes. With theſe conditions Scipio was nothynge pleaſed: Neuertheleſſe, truſtinge by further communication in the matter: to haue aduauntage, by the ſerche and trewe knowledge of the ſtate of his ennemyes, throughe the common entercourſe of eyther partie to the others campe: he

fayntly refused those conditions, wherby his ennemies myght take some hope of the achieuinge of their purpose. Now were the wynter houses in the campes of the Carthaginenses made of wodde and bowes, suche as they coulde get together. The Numidiens lodginges were couered with flagges and redes, and they laye within their campe, without order. Many also chosynge their owne places without assignemente, laye without the campe or dyches: whiche beinge shewed to Scipio, gaue hym a comfort and an hope, that the lodginges of his ennemies by pollicie myghte be set on fyre. Wherfore at euerye tyme that he sente any embassadours to the kynge Syphax, to entreate of the peace, to be parfectly assured of the trewe state of all thynges, he euer sent with them certayne witty fellowes of his army, disguysed in the habite and fourme of slaues, commaundinge them, whiles the embassadours were busy in their communication, that they shulde straye abrode to all partes of the campe of his ennemies, and to marke well the entrees and issues of the campes, with the syte & fascion of the stacion or lodginges, as well of the Carthaginenses as of the Numidiens, and in what quarter they were sette, and howe farre the kynges campe was distante from the campe of Asdruball, with the maner of their watche and warde bothe by nyghte and by daye.

¶ When the matter was thus dyuerse tymes debated betwen the two counsayles: and that the Romaynes were parfecte of all the state of their ennemies, and their order: Then the legates of Scipio sayde vnto the kynge, that they were commaunded neuer to returne, vntyll they had brought determynate aunswere, eyther of peace or of warre: Desyrynge hym, eyther to gyue aunswere therof hym selfe, or to take the counsayle and aduyse of Asdruball and the Carthaginenses, and therupon to make them their aunswere. For it was nowe hye tyme to knowe, eyther the oone or the other, withoute further tryfelynge forthe of tyme. Thus while Syphax toke the aduyse of Asdruball, and Asdruball of the noble menne of Carthage, the espyes had leysar to viewe and serche all thynges that they were charged with: and Scipio hadde tyme to prepare all that was mete to serue his purpose. The Numidiens also and the Carthaginenses, trustynge euer on peace, were neglygente in foreseinge and aduoydynge daungiers of warre,

warre, that were prepared for theyr myſchiefe. At the laſte aunſwere was made, that the Romaynes wouldehaue peace, but theyr conditions were not indifferente, whiche they deſyred. Wheruppon Scipio, hauynge a good occaſion, honeſtlye to breake the truſe before betweyne theim taken: On the morrowe he ſente worde to the kynge, that ſyns he perceyued no man wyllynge to haue peace but hym ſelfe: therefore the kynge from thens forthe ſhulde truſte to haue noo peace with the Romaynes, onleſſe he wolde leaue the amitie of the Carthaginenſes. Then was the tyme of truſe expyred, and the ſpryngе of the yere was come. Wherefore Scipio, to bryngе his pourpoſe aboute, aſſembled to gether his ſhippes, and furniſhed theim with ordynaunce and artyllery, as though he woulde aſſayle Utica on the ſea coſte. Ihe alſo ſente two thouſande men of warre to kepe the hyll about Utica, whiche before laye vnkepte: And that he dydde for two purpoſes. Fyrſte, to drawe the myndes of his ennemies from the ſuſpection of that whiche he had deuyſed, and to occupy them with contrary worke. Secondly, with that power to defende his campe from the excurſions of the citezens, in caſe they wolde iſſue out, whyles he with his power were gone to Syphax and Aſdruball. Then dydde he open vnto Maſſaniſſa, and certayne other, what his mynde was to doo the nyghte folowynge. And he commaunded the Tribunes, that in the euenynge folowynge, they ſhulde bryngе forthe the hoſte into the fyeldes. They accordynge to his commaundement, aboute the ſonne ſettynge, ſette forthe the ſtandardes and banners, and in the begynnynge of the nyghte, the hoſte ſet forwarde in arraye, ſo that by mydnyghte they hadde gone. vii. myles, and were come nere to the campe of theyr ennemyes. Then Scipio deuyded his army in. ii. partes. The one parte with the Numidiens, he appoynted to Lelius and Maſſaniſſa, wyllynge them to inuade the campe of kynge Syphax, and to ſet fire on the lodgynges made of bowes and of flagges, harnely prayinge them bothe, that nyght to apply theyr buſineſſe with great dilygence. And he ſayde, that ſo ſone as he myghte perceyue the fyre to be in the kynges campe, then wolde he alſo aſſayle the campe of Aſdruball.

¶ Accordyng to his commaundement the purpoſe was achieued. For incontinent after the fyre was put into the vttermoſt

partes and houses, the fyre anon toke in the dry styckes and flagges, and ranne from one house to an other: so that in shorte space it was abrode in euery parte of the campe. The Numidiens of the kynges hoste, parceyuinge the fyre, were stryken with a sodeyne great feare, and the more bycause it chaunced in the nyght season. Yet nothynge mistrustinge the cause therof to aryse throughe their ennemies, but iudginge it to come throughe some negligence or euyll fortune. They ranne on all partes to helpe to ceasse or quenche the fyre, without armour or weapons. Nowe Massamissa, whiche knewe the wayes and entrees about the kinges campe, had soo laide his Numidiens in embushmētes, that as the people ran abrode to quenche the fyre, they fel into the company of theyr ennemies er they knew where they were, and by that meanes many were slaine, many also wer burned in theyr beddes with fyre. The watche of the Carthaginenses, in the campe of Asdrubal, parceyuinge the great fires in the kynges campe, awaked the rest of the hoste. Who being also deceyued, for that they thought the fyre was hapned by negligence, and not by the deuise of theyr ennemies, and herynge the greate crye of theyr companye in the kynges hoste, that were slayne, whiche they thought came but onely throughe the sodeyne feare of the fyre, that was happened in the nyghte: they ranne together in companyes vnarmed out of the gates of theyr campes, the next way, takyng onely with them suche thynges, wherwith they myght quenche the fyre. Whom the Romaynes receyued as they came, and slewe them euery one, that none escaped to beare tydynges therof. Then Scipio incontinent inuaded the campe. Where fyndynge the gates therof vnwarded, he entred with his armye, and set fyre on the lodginges in diuerse partes, whiche spreadyng abrode, in short space burned all that was therin, bothe man beaste and stuffe. And suche as wold haue fledde from the daunger of the fyre, were slayne with the swerde of the Romaynes.

¶ Thus in one tyme were bothe the campes wonne. Neuertheless bothe the capitaines escaped with. xx. M. fotemen, and. v. C. horsemen: wherof manye were wounded and hurte with that fyre. There were slayn and burned that night. xl. M. besydes them that there were taken, aboue. vi. thousand, with many noble men of Carthage: whereof. xl. were senatours, with a greate and ryche praye, of horses armure and other

thinges

thynges moche of value, whiche were diſtributed amonges the ſouldiours. The kynge with certayne with hym, fledde to his owne countrey.

¶ Aſdruball with as great ſpeede as he might came to Carthage, where he founde the citie ſoore troubled, and in greate feare. For they iudged, that Scipio, leauynge the further aſſault of Utica, wolde incontinent after his victory come to aſſault and ouercome Carthage. Than they determined, in haſt to aſſemble a newe hoſt of the citie and countrey about theim. They alſo ſent meſſangers to kynge Syphax, to require hym, that he would gather his power, and healpe to defende bothe his countrey and theyrs. Whervnto his yonge wyfe muche moued hym: who pyteouſly wepyng, deſyred hym not to ſuffre his fathers and her countrey to be diſtroyed, and the citie of Carthage to be bourned by the Romaynes, as they of late bourned the kynges tentes and her fathers. The legates of Carthage alſo ſhewed hym, that good fortune was comminge towardes them. For that there were arryued of late. iiii. M. men of warre of Celtiberia, a countrey of Spayne, whyche were hyred to comme to their ſuccours. And that Aſdruball woulde not fayle to ioyne with hym with a full noble armye. To whome the kyng gaue gentyll aunſwere, ſayinge, that he woulde aſſemble and put in armour all the luſty yonge men of his realme. For he ſayde, he knewe well, that he was before ouercome by fyre, and not by battayle. Wherefore he woulde neuer accompte hym ſelfe vanquyſhed, oneles he were ouercome and ſubdued in the fielde by ſtrength and power. With this anſwere the meſſangers departed.

¶ And ſhortly after, accordyng to theyr appoyntement, Aſdruball and the kynge mette togyther, with their armies, and had betweene them bothe. xxx. M. men. Scipio herynge of theyr newe comming agayne on hym, with that power, lefte at the ſayde Utica, a ſmalle numbre of his people, bothe by ſea and by lande: and hym ſelfe with his greatte power, went to mete his ennemies. He pitched his campe in the playn fielde, not farre from the kynges campe, where lyghte ſkyrmyſſhes were made betweene the horſemen of bothe partes, by the ſpace of. iii. dayes. On the fourthe day, the capitaynes prepared theyr hoſtes to battayle.

¶ Scipio ſet his ſpearemen in the front of his battayle: be-

hynde whome were his best assured souldiours footemen set to theyr ayde and succours. On the ryghte wynge were his horsemen of Italy. In the lefte wynge was Massanissa with his Numidian horsemen.

¶ On the other side, Asdruball against the wynge of Italyan horsmen, set his Numidians, and against Massanissa he set his Carthaginenses. In the middes were the newe souldiours of Celtiberia. Thus beinge ordered, the battailles ioyned. And at the fyrst encountre, both the winges of the Carthaginenses and of the Numidians were driuen backe. For the Numidians being now rude and vntaught men of armes, were noothinge able to resyste the Romain horsmen: neither the Carthaginenses (being also vnexpert in feates of warre) were able to withstande Massanissa, that was fierse and terrible, through the ioy of his late victory. Wherfore the wynges beinge thus put to flight, the poore army of the Celtiberians remained alone, naked, destitute of helpe or refuge. Flie they durste not, for that beinge in an vnknowen cuntrey, they knewe no place whither to flie to be saued. Again, if they were taken, they looked for no grace at Scipios hand: seinge they came from their owne cuntrey into Affrica, to fight against hym that had before ofte tymes been their good frende. Wherfore, being compassed about with their ennemies, they were slayne one vppon an other without pitie. But whiles al men were busy about theim, Syphax and Asdrubal had tyme to escape, to whom the night beinge so nere, was moche their safegarde.

¶ What feare the Carthaginenses were in after this great ouerthrowe of their friendes, and seing Scipio with his army, ouer ryding the countrey rounde aboute theim, and winning the cities and townes, which were vnder their subiection: no penne can write, nor tunge expresse. They loked euery houre whan theyr citie shoulde be enuyronned with their ennemies: they fortifyed their walles, they broughte in vytayles to endure a lenger space, and prepared all thynges necessarye. They consulted, what were best for theym to do. It was agreed, that messangers shoulde be sent with letters to Anniball, commaundyng him to come to Carthage with his power to their socours.

¶ Certayn of the senatours gaue counsel, that a good nombre of shippes, furnyshed with men and ordenance, shuld sodeinly

ſnuade the Romayne hoſte and nauy, that lay in reſt at Utica: not myſtruſtynge, but they ſhulde fynde the ſhyppes negly-gently kept: wherby with ſmall peyne they myghte oppreſſe theim. On theſe two pointes the ſenators agreed. The ſhippes were ſette furthe, and letters were alſo ſent to Annibal. Scipio retournynge from the battayle, leadynge and caryng with hym the ſpoile or pray of many townes, which he wanne: ſent his sayde praye with the priſoners to his campe at Utica. Hye hym ſelfe came to Tunnes, whyche he found void of men of warre. They were fled after the battayle, and left the town without any garriſon. Of the takyng of this towne Scipio was very gladde, as well for that it was naturally ſtronge by reaſon of the ſyte therof, beſyde that it was ſurely fortifyed by the induſtry of man, as alſo for that the place was ſo commody ouſe for his pourpoſe. It was dyſtaunt from Carthage twelue myles. Yet frome thenſe he myghte welle ſee the citie of Carthage, and alſo the ſea that bette on the walles of the towne.

¶ Whyles the Romaynes were caſtynge a trenche and fortifiynge this towne of Tunnes: they perceyued the nauy of the Carthaginenſes ſaylynge towardes Utica. Than Scipio leauyng his woorkes, made haſte with his men towardes Utica, to come to the healpe of his ſhippes, that lay at the ſiege therof, and came before the arryuing of the Carthaginenſes: who trifled the tyme on the ſea, beinge in feare to ſet on that enterpryſe: ſo that Scipio had prouyded well for the defence of his ſhyppes before their coming. Neuer the leſſe after moche trouble and fyght on the ſea, they toke with them. vi. Romayn ſhyppes, and returned to Carthage, where no ſmall ioy was made of that very ſmall gayne.

¶ Syphar maketh a new fraide with Lelius and Maſſaniſſa: where he is taken priſoner, and his men put to flighte. Maſſaniſſa then taketh the citie of Lirtha, and there in haſt, marieth Sophonisba, wyfe to Kinge Syphax. Cap. lxiiii.

The morowe after the battaile was fought, and the kyng Syphax eſcaped, as is before declared, Scipio ſent Lelius and Maſſaniſſa, with all the Romayn horſmen & the lyght-

lyghteſt harneiſſed footemen, and alſo the Numidians, to folowe the kyng and Aſdruball: whiles he went about to wynne the townes and countrey adiacent to Carthage. They within xv. dayes came into Numidia: at whoſe coming, a people ther of called Maſeſuli, receiued gladly Maſſamiſſa, and deliuered hym the whole realme, as to theyr ryghtfull kynge, whoſe cominge they had ſo longe deſyred, expellynge cleane out of the cities and foztreſſes therof, all the garnyſons of Syphax, ſoo that he was glad to kepe hym within the bondes of his owne realme. His harte ſwelled at this diſpleaſure, wyllynge to be reuenged: whervnto his wyfe and her father moche intyced hym, and prycked hym forwardes. He hadde great plentie of men, and alſo of horſes, whyche moche encouraged hym to make a newe fielde. Wherefore he aſſembled as many as he thought able, gyuyng theim horſes and harneys: diuydynge his horſemen and footemenne in to companyes, appoyntynge to theim capitaines, accordynge as he before had learned of the Romaynes. Thus hauyng all thinges in a redyneſſe, he marched towardes his ennemies, with as great an hooſte as he had before: but they were almoſte all newe ſouldiours, and yonge men of warre. When he came nere the hoſt of the Romains he there fortified his campe. And anone certayne of his horſemen iſſued and badde baſe to an nother numbre of the Romayne horſemen. And who ſoo was beaten, retourned agayne to his company, and was anon reſcued of an other numbre of his company. Thus by diuers iſſuynges and helpynge euery part theyr companies, beyng either aſhamed or angrye of theyr driuynge backe, the battayle beganne to be quicke on bothe partes, ſo that at the laſt the hole companyes of horſemen on bothe partes were come to the fieldes. The noumbre of kynge Syphax hoſte was come ſo thicke to the bataile, that the Romaynes were fayne to recule, and had been put to the worſe, had not the Romain legyons of fotemen come to theyr ſuccours. At whoſe comynge the kynges people muſynge of theyr order and maner of fyghtyng, began to ſtay, and at the laſte were dryuen backe, and began to flee. Syphax, wyllynge to withholde his people from flyght, beganne to exhort them to abyde, and manfully to fyght, ſhewynge vnto theim, bothe the ſhame and alſo the ieoperdye that woulde enſue through theyr flyinge.

And

¶ And whyles he rode about the fielde, comfortyng his peo-
ple, he hapned to come nere a company of Romaynes, where
his horſe was ſtryken downe and ſlayne vnder hym, and he ta-
ken alyue, and brought to Lelius. His people fledde as faſte
as they myght, and came to the citie of Cirtha, whyche was
the chiefe citie of all that realme. There were of his menne
ſlayne in that battayle. v. M. and aboute. ii. M. v. C. taken.
Than ſayd Maſſaniſſa to Lelius: There were nothynge to
me more pleaſant, than hauyng nowe victory, to viſite my fa-
thers kyngdom, which after my long exyle, I haue now reco-
uered. But the time will not ſuffre vs to ceſſe from our enter-
priſe. wherfore, if ye wil ſuffre me, to take with me all the hors
men, and the kyng alſo nowe priſoner: I will goo before you
to Cirtha, where I ſhall fynde euery man ſoo ſuppriſed with
feare, that I ſhall ſoone wynne it with ſmal reſiſtence: ye, with
your fotemen may come after me ſmall iourneys at your eaſe.
¶ To this his diuyſe Lelius aſſented. And Maſſaniſſa with
his horſemen haſted, tyll he came to the walles of the citie of
Cirtha, where he called certaine of the towne to him, and de-
ſired to haue certain of the noble mē of the citie to come furth
and ſpeake with hym, which done, he moued them gentrlly, to
yelde vp their citie: But they, not knowing of the takinge of
their king, in no wiſe wold be perſwaded to ſubmit them ſelfes
to the Romains. Than cauſed Maſſaniſſa the king Syphax to
be brought before them bound as a priſoner. After which pi-
tifull ſyght, the citezens partly for feare, partly truſtyng ther
by to obteine fauor of Maſſaniſſa and of the Romains, opened
the yates of the citie. And Maſſaniſſa, leauyng fyrſt the gates
& wals furniſhed with his people, to thintent none of the citie
ſhuld eſcape out: he with great ſpede rode to the kinges pa-
laice. Where at his fyrſt entre he found Sophoniſba, the wife
of Syphax, daughter to Aſdrubal of Carthage, who abode
his coming at the gate of his palaice. whan ſhe eſpied him co-
ming amonge a great route of men of armes, ſhe iudging part-
ly by his goodly armure, partly by his riche apparaile, that he
was the kyng: ſhe fell on her knees before hym and ſayd: The
goddis, thy ſtrength, and thy good fortune haue geuen the full
power to do with vs what ſo euer ſhall be thy plea ure. Neuer
the leſſe if the praier of a poore woman may take place with
her lord, that hath power both of lyfe and of deth: I humbly

beseche the, by that royall maiestie, wherin of late also we wer, and for the loue of the name of the people and cuntrey of Numidia, which appertained both to Syphax and to you: for the loue also of the goddis of this place, whō I desire to send the better & more prosperus coming hither, thā they gaue to Syphax a departing hens, that thou wilt graunt me to be thy prisoner, and what so euer thy plesure be to do with me, I shal not refuse it: so that thou suffre me not to come into the cruell and proude dominion of any Romayne. I had leauer auenture to yelde me into the power of a Numidian, and of one that is borne in myne owne countrey of Affrica, than to the handes of a stranger. For it is not vnknowen to you, howe moche the daughter of Asdruball and a Carthaginense borne, hath cause to feare the hande of a Romayne. And in case thou canste none otherwise helpe my desire, I mooste hartily require the, to slea me: and thus by deathe delyuer me from the daunger of the Romaynes.

¶ This quene being of excellent beautie, and in her lusty flourishyng age, what with her humble behauiour, what with her fayre speche, so persuaded the king Massanissa, that he not only toke her to mercy, but also hauyng the victory of her, & the hole citie, he becam so captiue to her by loue, that he takīg her by the right hand, promised her, her request, and thervpon he mounted into the kinges palaice. Than he began to dyuise in his imagination, by what meanes he myght performe his promise vnto the queene. And whan he coulde fynde noo way to bringe his purpose to passe, as one that was ouercome with blynd loue, he inuented a folishe and a shamefull diuise, whiche was, to be maried incontinent vnto her the same day: thynking by the mariage of her vnto him, he had taken away all occasion both from Lelius and also from Scipio, of doing her any hurt or displeasure. Whan the mariage was finyshed, Lelius with his hoste of footemen came to the citie of Cyrtha. And knowing of the sodeine weddyng he was so displesed with the act, that he was mynded to take her from the plesant bedde of her new husband, and to send her to Scipio, with her husband Syphax and other prisoners. But at the last, he being ouercome by thintercessiō of Massanissa, who remitted the order of that matter to the iudgement of Scipio: he sent Syphax and other prisoners to the emperour Scipio. After whose departyng,

he

he, by the helpe of Maſſaniſſa, receiued the other townes and cities of that countrey of Numidia into his handes: which before were kept by the retinue of kyng Syphax.

¶ Syphax is brought to the campe of Scipio, Maſſaniſſa ſendeth to Sophoniſba poyſon, whiche ſhe without feare drinketh. Capi. lxv.

VVhan tydinges came into the Romain campe, of the coming of Syphax, and the other noble captiues: greatte was the numbre of people that ranne to behold theim. The king being bounde, was caried formooſte, and after hym folowed a great numbre of the nobilitie of Numidia. And as the opinion of men is dyuers, ſo diuerſe were the tales of the people, extollynge the honour of the victorye by the myghty power of Syphax, and by the noble fame of the people that was ouercome. There was recounted the myghty power of the kyng, to whoſe maieſtie in one day .ii. of the moſt noble ſeignories of the worlde ſued for his fauour and frendeſhip, that is to ſay the Romayns and the Carthaginenſes. The Romanes ſent theyr valyaunt emperour and capitaine Scipio, onely with .ii. galeys that bare fiue oores on euery ſyde, into Affrica, to ſeke his amitie, leauyng in Spayn, than his prouince, all his hoſte and great charge. Agayne Aſdruball, the capytayne of the Carthaginenſes, not onely came into his countrey for amitie, but alſo he gaue hym his daughter in mariage, for the more ſure confyrmation of alyaunce betweene theim. Some reherſed the power and actes of Syphax to be ſuche, that he had driuen Maſſaniſſa out of his realme, bryngyng him to ſuche extreme calamitie, that his lyfe coulde none otherwyſe be ſaued, but by the bruite and fame of his death: and he after gladde to hyde his head in dennes or caues, and to lyue in the foreſtes and woddes lyke a wylde beaſt.

¶ With theſe and ſuche lyke famous report of the beholders he was brought into the tent of Scipio: who was by his preſence and ſyght muche moued with pitie, conſyderyng the honour that he of olde tyme had knowen hym in, and conferryng the ſame to his preſent miſery. Than Scipio after ſalutations made, & other cõmunicatiõ betwene them had aſked hym, what he wold haue him to do to hym: ſeing he not onely refuſed the

amitie of the Romaynes, but also wyllingely gaue theim bat-
tayle. To whom the kinge aunswered, that he knewe wel, that
he had offended, and he confessed, that he was not in his right
mynde, whan he moued warre againste them. He was madde:
when he dyd forget the comynge of Scipio into his realme,
and the bonde of alliance that he then made with hym: but spe-
cially whan he receiued into his house a matrone of Carthage,
of whose hot loue and mariage the fyry brondes had al redy set
fyre in his royall palaice. That madde and pestilente fury, by
her intisement neuer ceassed, tyll she had turned his harte and
mynde from his olde friendes the Romaynes: causynge hym
to pursue the warre againste them. Neuer the lesse (sayde he)
in all my mysery I haue nothynge that so moche doth comfort
me, and reioyse my herte, as when I beholde the same pesti-
lent madde fury nowe to be entred the house of my most enne-
my. And when I consyder that Massanissa is noo more wyse
then Syphax was: but that he more madly, and with lesse tem
peraunce hath receiued her, then euer I dyd.

¶ With these wordes of the kynge, Scipio was not a lyttell
troubled, and then herynge the great offence layde to Massa-
nissa, he sawe good cause, why he shuld gyue credence therto.
Consydering the great hast made in the maryage, without the
aduise of Lelius, and without abydinge his comynge. This
acte also semed worse, and more to be abhorred, consyderyng,
that he beinge a yonge man in Spayne, was neuer before ta-
ken with the loue of any captiue or prisoner.

¶ As he was musynge hereon, anone Lelius and Massanissa
came vnto hym, whom in open audience he merely and ioyful-
ly receyued, giuynge them great thankes and praises for their
dilygence in that iourney shewed. But anone, takynge Mas-
sanissa alone with hym in to a secrete place, he sayde thus vn-
to hym.

¶ I knowe ryght well Massanissa, that you dydde perceyue
some good qualities and vertues in me, whan you fyrste came
into Spayne to me, desyrynge there my frendshyp and amitie:
and afterwarde in Affrica, when ye holly cõmytted your selfe
into my gouernaunce. But at that tyme ye thought your selfe,
that there was no vertue in me, whiche ye soo moche estemed
as temperaunce and continencie: of whiche also I truely dyd
most glory of my selfe. And these vertues Massanissa I wolde

ye shulde

ye ſhulde ioyne vnto other noble qualities and vertues, wherwith ye are indued. For beleue me, there is not ſo mochе daunger to men of our yonge age by armed ennemies, as is by voluptuouſe pleaſure of our wanton deſyres, whiche euer are redy to vainquiſhe vs. And who ſo euer throughe temperaunce can bridle and ſubdue thoſe affecions, is worthy more honour, and hath achieued a greatter victory, then we haue nowe had by the takynge of kynge Syphax. The actes whiche ye haue ſo valyauntly and nobly done in myne abſence, remayne daylye in my memory: the other your euill actes I had leuer ye dyd call to remembraunce your ſelfe, then that I ſhoulde declare theym to youre greatte ſhame. Syphax, by the good fortune of the Romaynes, is nowe ouercome and taken. Wherefore he, his wyfe, his kyngedome, his poſſeſſions, his townes and caſtelles, his people, inhabitauntes of the ſame, with all that euer to Syphax belonged, is nowe a praye due to the people of Rome. The king and his wife (although ſhe had not bē a citezen of Carthage, and althoughe her father were not the capitain of our ennemies) ought to be ſent to Rome, and there ſhe ought to abide the iudgement of the ſenatours, and people of the citie, for that ſhe turned the minde of the kyng her huſbande from our friendſhyp, perſwadynge hym to take armour agaynſte vs. Wherfore nowe ouercome your owne affectionate mynde, and beware, that with one vyce, ye dyſgrace not ſo many your good vertues: and by one offence, loſe the reward and the thankes, whiche by your merites ye haue here tofore worthely deſerued.

¶ With theſe ſecrete rebukes Maſſaniſſa was not onely aſhamed, but alſo conſtrayned to wepe, ſayinge: that he wolde alwayes be at his commaundemente. Neuer the leſſe he deſyred hym, as mochе as myght be admitted, to regarde the faythful promeſſe that he had vnaduiſedly made vnto her: whiche was, that he wolde delyuer her into none other mans handes. After theſe wordes, all abaſhed he departed to his owne tente, where remayninge alone, he ſighed and ſobbed a great ſeaſon ſo vehemently, that ſuche as were without his tent myght eaſely here hym. At the laſte, makynge dolefull lamentation, he called to hym one of his faythfull and ſecrete ſeruauntes, who had the keping of his poyſon, according to the vſage of kinges and princes: who vſed to haue the ſame euer kepte nere to

them, therby to ouercome the incertayntie of fortune: parte of this poyson put into drynke, he sente by hym in a cuppe to Sophonisba, commaundynge hym to saye to her, that Massanissa wolde (if he had coulde) gladly haue kepte his first promyse made vnto her, as becometh a man to do to his wife: but sens it lieth not in his power, to perfurme it, yet wyll he kepe his seconde promes made vnto her, whiche was that she shuld not, whiles she were on lyue, come into the daungier of any Romayne. Wherfore he wylleth her, to remembre the Emperour her father, and the.ii. kynges, to whom she hath ben maried, and therafter regarde her owne honour.

¶ When the messanger hadde presented to Sophonisba the poyson, and done his message, she aunswered: I wyll receyue this mariage gyfte, and that gladly, if a husbande can gyue no better gyfte to his wyfe. But (sayde she) I praye the shewe Massanissa, that my deathe had not ben soo greuouse to me, if I had not maryed so nere the goinge to my graue. And without gruinge other sharpe wordes to the messanger, she without feare or tremblynge, toke the drynke empoysoned, and dranke it of.

¶ When this was shewed vnto Scipio, lest Massanissa, being a fyerse yonge man, and takyng this displeasantly in his minde, myght do some hurt to him selfe: he called hym vnto him: sometyme comfortynge hym, sometyme gentilly rebukinge him, for that he had corrected his fyrst foly with an other folyshe acte, makynge of the thynge more sorowe then neded. On the next daye, to the intent he wolde put all suche fantasies out of his mynde: he ascended to the place of iudgemente, whyther he caused all his hoste to assemble. There he fyrste gaue to Massanissa the name of a kynge: and after great lawdes and prayses gyuen to hym, he also gaue hym many ryche gyftes, as a crowne of golde, with a great bolle of golde, a chaire of Iuorye, a walkynge staffe of Iuorye, a ryche gowne, with a cote of bawdekyn, vsed to be worne in sygne of victory. And to set the matter forthe to his further honour, he declared, that in any tryumphe at Rome, after any victory hadde of theyr ennemies, no man could weare any more noble apparaile then this, whiche he hadde gyuen hym. Sayinge also, that of al straungers the citezens of Rome iudged onely Massanissa worthye to be presented with those gyftes. Then called he forthe Lelius, to

line, to whom he alſo gaue great prayſes, and rewarded hym with a crowne of golde. And after he rewarded other his ſoldiours, according theyr deſertes. By this gentel handeling and honour gyuen to the kyng Maſſaniſſa, his troubled minde was pacifyed: and he was put in hope after the deathe of Syphax, to be ruler of all Numidia. Then Scipio ſent Lelius to Rome, with Syphax and other pryſoners, with whome alſo wente the embaſſadours of Maſſaniſſa. And he after their departynge, wente agayne to Tuniſe, where he encamped his hoſte, and fortifyed the place, makynge an ende of the workes, whiche he before had begunne.

Lelius, with kinge Syphax, and other priſoners, and the embaſſadours of Maſſaniſſa, came to Rome: Maſſaniſſa is made kyng of his realme of Numidia. Cap. lxvi.

The Carthaginenſes, hering of the takyng of Syphax, in whom they had as moche truſt, as they had in Aſdrubal, and his armye: began then to be fayntharted. Wherfore ſens they knewe no further helpe in theyr warre, they ſent. xxx. the moſt noble ſenatours of their citie to Scipio, to intreate of peace. Theſe auncient noble men, ſo ſone as they came into the pauilion of the pretor before Scipio, of a flatteryng facion they fel proſtrate to the grounde, and then made an humble and a flatteryng oration, not pourgynge them ſelues and theyr citie of theyr offence, but layinge the begynnynge of all the defaulte in Annibal, and his adherentes. Deſyrynge to haue the citie pardoned of this offence, ſynſe they truſted, that the Romains wolde not deſyre theyr deſtruction, but that they wold be contented with theyr humble ſubmiſſion, as of people ouercome, whiche wolde be glad to obey to any thynge that he ſhulde cōmaunde them to do. To whom Scipio anſwered, that his comynge into Affrica was vpon truſt, to returne home agayne to Rome with victory, not to conclude with peace, whiche his hope, fortune alſo fauouryng, had moche aduanced by proſperous ſucceſſe. Neuertheleſſe (ſaide he) now hauing the victory almoſt in my handes, yet wil I not refuſe peace, to thintente al men may know, that the Romains do iuſtly both begin & end theyr warres. And theſe ſhalbe the conditions of your peace.

Ye

ye shall restore vs all your prysoners, and our fugitiue runne aways. Ye shal remoue your armies out of Italy and France. Ye shall forbeare to meddle any more in Spayne. Ye shall departe frome all the Iles, whyche be betweene Italy and Affrica. ye shall delyuer vs all youre longe shyppes, excepte onely. xx. ye shall gyue vs of wheate. v. C. M. busshelles, of barley. iii. C. M. bushels, of money. v. M. talentes. And thre dayes respite I do gyue you (saide he) to take your aduise, whether these conditions of peace please you or not. And in case ye be contented with theim, ye shall haue truce of me, and send your embassadours to Rome to the senate, for a confyrmation of the same.

¶ The Carthaginenses, myndynge onely to tracte the tyme tyl Anniball with his power might come into Affrica, thought they woulde refuse no conditions of peace, that were demaunded to be done for their partes. Wherfore they sent some legates vnto Scipio, to take truce, other they sent to Rome, to aske peace, leading with theim certain prisoners and fugitiues for a colour, to the intent they myghte therby the better obteygne peace.

¶ Whyles these thynges were woorkyng, Lelius with king Syphax, and other noble men prisoners of Numidia, wer com to Rome. Where he declared to the senatours by ordre all thinges whiche had ben done in Affrica, to their greate comfort and also hope of good ende of that voiage.

¶ Then were these newes publyshed abrode in the citie, whiche caused great ioy and gladnes.

¶ Sone after were the ambassadours of Massanissa brought into the senate, where fyrst they said, They were glad and ioyfull, that Scipio had nobly and happily spedde in Affrica, to the no smalle comforte of the senate, and also of the citie of Rome: Than dyd they gyue thankes for that Scipio hadde not onely giuen to Massanissa the name of a kynge, but alsoo had made hym a kyng, restoring him to his fathers kyngdom, if it were the pleasure of the fathers of the senate. Thyrdly, that it pleased Scipio, not only to giue great prayses to Massanissa openly, but also that he had gyuen hym greatte gyftes, whiche to deserue he hath and wyll dilygently indeuour hym selfe, desyryng that the sayd name of a king, with other the beneficiall gyftes of Scipio, myght be confyrmed by the decree

of

of the ſenate: And furthermore they ſayde, that yf it myght ſtande with theyr pleaſure, Maſſamiſſa deſyred theim, to ſende vnto hym certayne priſoners of Numidia, whiche were kepte in priſon at Rome: by the reſtoring of whom, he ſhuld purchas moche honour and loue among the communes of the cuntrey. To theſe their ſayinges and demaundes, it was then anſwered by the ſenate, that the proſperous actes of Scipio, doone in Affrica, were as moche to theyr comforte, as to the kynges. And that the honour and the giftes, which Scipio had gyuen to Maſſamiſſa, were well beſtowed, and accordynge as he had well deſerued: which his actes they al dyd ratifie and allowe: Beſydes whyche his gyftes, they alſo ſent vnto Maſſamiſſa the kyng, by theim, dyuers other preſentes of apparaile, mete to be worne bothe in the tyme of peace and of warre. Furthermore, the embaſſadours of the king were honourably rewarded. The priſoners alſo of Numidia, at theyr delyuery t ſendyng home, had certayn apparayle gyuen theim. And thus plentyfully enryched, they had all departed towardes Affrica, hadde not the newes of the coming of the legates of Carthage cauſed the ſenatours to ſtay Lelius and theim all for a ſeaſon, to tary their cominge, bycauſe the communication of the peace with theim, ſhulde be in the preſence of Lelius.

Mago is diſcomfited by the Romaynes, and wounded, of whiche wounde he dyeth, Anniball by the commandement of the ſenate leaueth Italy, and ſayleth toward Carthage, makyng great doole for his departing. ca. lxvii.

IN the ſame Sommer, whyles theſe thynges were wrought and decreed in Affrica, and at Rome, Quintilius Varro, than beynge Pretor, and Marcus Cornelius, beynge Proconſull in the coſtes of Lumbardy, hadde battayle with Mago the brother of Anniball, whyche was earneſtly foughte on bothe partes: and hadde not the Romayne horſemenne ſodeynely inuaded the footemen, ſoore fyghtynge, and broken theyr araye, it hadde bene lykely to haue tourned the Romaynes to the worſe. But after the array was broken, they were fayne to recule: And Mago ſo well handled hym ſelfe in the reculynge, that ſoo longe as he abode vnhurt, he defended his company, and cauſed theim to

recule in good order and array. But at the laste he was sooze wounded, and fell to the grounde, and with peyne was borne oute of the fielde alyue. After whose ouerthrowe his people fled on all partes, wherby many of theim were slayne. He lost at that battayle aboue. v. M. men. And the Romains escaped not free: for they also lost then aboue. ii. M. iii. C. men, with many capitaines that bare offices of honour. The nyght folowynge Mago departed with great silence, and makynge as great hasty iourneys as his wounde wolde suffre hym, he came to the sea costes of Liguria, where he founde the messangers of Carthage, that fewe dayes before were arriued, and there abode his cominge. Theyr message was, that with as moche spede as myght be, he shulde hye him to Affrica. and that his brother Annibal had also lyke commandement by other messangers to do the same, certifiyng hym, that the state of Carthage was not nowe suche, that they were able to kepe stylle bothe Italy and Fraunce by force of armes. Mago partely moued by the cõmandement of the senate of Carthage, partly fearyng lest his ennemies, pursuing hym, might by his long tarying do hym further displeasure. Agayne, trustynge on his way homewardes to be better releued and cured of his woundes: he with spede put his company into shyppes, and departed. But he had not passed the Ile of Sardinia: but he dyed of his maladye. After whose deathe, dyuers of his shyppes, beynge beaten with the stormes of the sea, were taken by the nauy of the Romaynes, that laye the same tyme aboute Sardinia.

All this yere Annibal, and Cn. Seruilius the consull, lay bothe with theyr hostes in the parties of the Brutians, without any memorable batayle betwene theim foughten. And than came the legates of Carthage vnto hym, callyng him home to Carthage to theyr succours, whose message he hearde rorynge and lamentynge; and with peyne coulde he forbeare weepynge. And after a pawse he sayde: Nowe they openly call me backe, that before couertly imagyned to fetche me frome hense, in that they denyed for to sende me money and menne of warre, to supplye the roumes of suche as lacked. Wherefore I woulde all men dydde knowe, that the vanquishynge nowe of Annibal is not by the people of Rome: but by the senate of Carthage, throughe despyte and enuy. And

of this

of this my ſhamefull retourne, Scipio wyll no more reioyce, thanne wyll Hanno of Carthage, the olde ennemye of my whole famylie.

¶After greatte doolefull mone made, he tooke the ſea hym ſelfe, and his chiefe menne of warre, with ſhyppes therefore prepared: leauynge certayne vnprouffytable ſowldyours, as a defence of ſuche ſmalle fortreſſes as remayned than in his poſſeſſion, more for feare than for any good wylle or faythe.

¶It hath not lyghtly bene ſeene or hearde of, that euer man departed from his countrey (beyng exiled therfro) with more heuyneſſe, than Annibal departed frome the countrey of his ennemies. Full often, whan he was on the ſea, he loked backe towardes the ſea coſtes of Italy, accuſyng bothe the goddis & alſo men, ye and curſyng hym ſelfe, for that he after his victorie at the battaile of Cannas, had not incontinent brought his fierſe and bloddy knightes to the takyng of Rome. Thus bewaylyng his euyll fortune, he left the poſſeſſion of Italy, whiche he had kepte the ſpace of .xvi. yeres after that he fyrſt paſſed the mountayns of the ſame.

¶Annibal arryueth in Affrica, and deſyreth to ſpeake with Scipio, whiche he graunteth hym, and therupon they mete at a place appoynted. Capit. lxviii.

Nowe was Q. Fuluius Sillo, the legate of Scipio com to Rome, with the embaſſadours of Carthage, to require peace of the fathers of the ſenate. But the ſenatours wold not ſuffre theim to entre the citie, but apointed theim to abide without the walles. The ſenatours ſoone after ſatte in the houſe of Bellona, whyther the Carthaginenſes legates were broughte, and there made an oration, moche lyke to the other, whych they before made vnto Scipio, layyng all the blame from the common counſaile vnto Annibal: ſayyng, that he, without the conſent of the ſenate of Carthage, paſſed both the mountaynes and alſo the ryuer of Iberus, makyng warre not onely to the Romaynes, vppon his owne wylle and pleaſure, but alſo to the Saguntines. Where the mynde of the Senate of Carthage was euer, to kepe the leage and amitie

inuiolate, whyche was taken before with the Romayns. In conclusyon they declared, that the summe of theyr charge giuen theym, to desyre of the senate of Rome, was, that they myght continue in the same leage and conditions of amitie and peace with the Romaines, as were before at the last truce taken with them by Luctatius, than being consull.

¶ Then dyuers of the auncient Senatours of Rome, whyche were presente at the leage taken by Luctatius, demaunded sundrye questyons of the legates of Carthage, concernynge the sayde condition of peace, conteyned in that leage. Whereynto they, beynge all younge menne, aunswered, that they were not of aege to remembre that treatie. This aunswere was greattely suspected of the fathers. Wherefore they said with one assent, that the Carthaginenses, accordyng to theyr olde accustomed crafte and falsehode, had chosen suche imbassadours, to requyre a peace to be renued, wher of they had no knowlege nor remembrance. Whervppon the legates were caused to auoide the place, whiles they counsayled vppon the matter. And after longe deliberate discussynge therof, Lelius and Fuluius declared to theim the opinyon of Scipio, touchyng this peace, whiche was, that he dydde not myslyke the meanyng of the Carthaginenses, in case they dyd not sende to call home Annball and Mago out of Italy: but if they so dyd, than he thought they wolde dissemble the matter vnto their capitains coming with succours, and afterward forgettyng their promise, wolde renewe the warre. Upon these wordes the whole counsayle agreed to the saying of M. Ualerius Leuinus, who sayde, that they were to be taken as espies, and not as embassadours, and that they shuld be cõmanded to auoyde Italy, hauyng guides sente with theim, to conduct theim vnto their shyppes. And that word shulde be sente to Scipio, to procede in the warre as he had begunne.

¶ Nowe in the meane space, whiles the legates of Scipio and of Carthage, were at Rome, Cn. Octauius, with. xi. C. shippes of cariage, and. xxx. other longe shippes, to guyde theim, passed from Sicilia, to go into Affrica: but the windes were so vehement, & the stormes so importunate, that he with the long shyppes, with peyne saued hym selfe in a porte neere to the mountayn of Apollo. The other bulkes of cariage were driuen to diuers places on the coste of Affrica, in the sight of the

men

men of Carthage. The Carthaginenſes perceyuing this great praye eaſy to be taken, forgettynge theyr deſyre of peace, and alſo the tyme of truſe taken with Scipio (yet mention of them bothe was made to them by certayne of the citie) they by hole aſſente appoynted Aſdruball, with fyfty ſhyppes to gather togither, and to bring home thoſe ſeabeaten & diſparpled ſhippes, with all that was in them. At whoſe comynge the ſhypmenne fled away, leauynge theyr veſſelles: and he without any reſyſtence drewe them with hym to Carthage. Scipio conſidering this theyr acte to be doone, before the legates were returned from Rome, or that they knewe what aunſwere they ſhuld receyue, eyther of warre or of peace. Alſo ſeinge the tyme of truſe was not yet expyred, toke it to be moche more heynous and diſpleaſaunt.

¶Sone after this breake of truſe on the parte of the Carthaginenſes, arryued Lelius and Fuluius, with the legates of Carthage, to whom Scipio, declarynge theyr vntrewe dealynge, cõmaunded them to departe, and he with all ſpede prepared for the warre.

¶This yere folowynge were choſen conſulles, M. Seruilius Geminus, and T. Claudius Nero. Seruilius was apoynted to Hetruria, as his prouynce: and Claudius Nero to Affrica. He had ordeyned fyfty good ſhyppes, wherwith he and his hoſt ſhulde paſſe into Affrica, where he ſhulde be equat ruler with Scipio.

¶NOVVE VVAS Annibal, with his armye, arriued ſafe in Affrica, and by land came to Zama, fyue days iourney from Carthage. From thens ſente he eſpies before hym, to knowe the ſtate of the Romayne campe and armye. Theſe ſpyes by chaunce happed on the ſkoute watche of the Romaynes, and were taken and brought to Scipio. Who demaunded of them the cauſe why theyr capitayne ſent them thyther. They aunſwered, to eſpye and to haue knowlege of his army and order. Then Scipio called certayn of his capitaines, called tribunes, commaundinge them to go with the eſpies of Annibal, and to conducte them throughe all his campe, not fearynge to ſhewe them, what ſo euer they deſyred to ſee: When they had gone rounde about a longe ſeaſon, and were brought agayne to him, he demaunded of them, whether they had well, accordinge to theyr myndes, viewed his campe and hoſte. They ſayde ye.

Then said he: Go ye to Annibal, and make to hym relation of that ye haue seene. Thus let he them departe, sendynge with them guides to conduct them out of daunger.

¶ The spies, whan they came to Annibal, declared vnto him, how Scipio had intreated thē. Besides that they shewed him, that Massanissa the same day was come to Scipio, with .vi. M. fotemen, and .iiii. M. horsemen. But there was nothyng, that euer they tolde him, so moch abated his courage, as the libertie that he gaue his espies, to viewe his order and power. For that great boldenes of his ennemye he iudged and knewe well proceded of some great assuraunce, that he had in his strength and good order. Wherfore although he him selfe was the first cause and occasion, bothe of the warre and also of the truse brekinge: Yet he deuysed hym selfe, to speake with Scipio, thinkinge before any battayle, whyles his power was not assayed, he shuld obteine peace with more easy conditiōs, then he shuld, in case it chaunced hym to be ouercome. Wherfore he sente a messanger to Scipio, desyringe that he myght haue lybertie to speake with him, and that he wolde apoynt a place, where they might come together. Scipio refused not to accomplysshe his desyre. The place was apoynted, voyde of al deceite and gile. Thyther came the .ii. most noble capitaines of the worlde, hauing onely eche of them one interpretour with him, to declare to eche other, what shulde be spoken by them. Theyr hostes abode a good space from them. When they were come together, either of them was astonied with the syght of the other: So that as persons amased through admiration, they spake no worde of a good season. At the laste Annibal began to speake in maner folowynge.

¶ The wytty oration that Annibal made to Scipio, before the battayle betwene them. Cap. lxix.

IF it be gyuen me by the fatall fortune, that I whiche fyrst moued this warre against the people of Rome, & that so many tymes haue had the victorye ouer theim, shuld nowe of mine owne voluntary wyll come to be a suiter to haue peace: I am glad, that it is thy chance Scipio, to be the man appoynted of the goddes, of whom I shulde come to require the same peace. And among many other prayses, that be gyuen

gyuen vnto the, this maye be as one of the greateſt: That Anniball, to whome the goddes haue gyuen ſo many victories of the Romaynes, ſhulde nowe gyue place and obey vnto the. So that thou mayſt make an ende of this notable warre, that hath ben betwene vs, as yet more to your loſſe then to ours. Again, what worke is this of fortune, that I whiche fyrſt fought with your father, beinge conſull, in armes, with banners diſplayed, ſhulde nowe come to his ſonne vnarmed, for to ſue for peace? I woulde it had pleaſed the goddes, to haue gyuen ſuche honeſt hertes to our fathers and predeceſſours, that they wolde haue ben contented with the dominion of Affrica, and to your fathers to haue ben contented with the empyre of Rome. For if we make a trewe rekenynge, neyther Sicilia, nor Sardinia, be a worthy recompence of the manyfolde mayres, armies, and noble Capytaynes, that we haue loſte, throughe our prowde contention. But it is eaſyer to fynde faulte with thynges that be paſſed: then it is to amende the ſame. And for our partes we haue ſo coueted others dominions, that at lengthe we haue ben fayne to fyghte for our owne. We haue for our parte not onelye warred in Italy, but alſo ſo farre aduaunced our hoſte and power, that at the verye gates of Rome ye haue ſene our ſtandardes, and men of armes. And in lyke maner we of Carthage haue ben within the herynge of the noyſe of your Romayne campes and armye. Nowe by your good fortune, communication of peace is hadde betwene vs, whiche we of reaſon ſhulde leaſte care for: And ye for your partes ſhulde chiefelye deſyre. And we nowe intreate thereof, whom it mooſte behoueth to make peace. Conſyderynge that what ſoo euer we two agree vpon, our cities wyll ratyfye and confyrme. Wherfore there lacketh nothynge in vs, but quyet myndes and peaſable hertes. And for my parte myne age vppon my returne into my cuntreye, frome whenſe I came forthe but yonge, with the tymes ſometyme chaungynge to proſperitie, ſometyme to aduerſytie, haue ſo taught me, that I can be better contented, to followe reaſon then brittell fortune. But I feare greatly, leſte thy youthe and thy perpetuall felicitie, ingender in the ſuche a fyerſeneſſe, that thou wylte not regarde quyete counſayle. No man ſhall ſoo aduyſedlye conſyder the vncertayne chaunces of Fortune, as he that hath benne deceyued by Fortune: as I was at the battayle of

Traſymenus

Trasymenus and at Cannas, so art thou now being but a yong souldiour of age, made a capitayne the fyrste daye. Thou beganste all thynges with a bolde and a stout courage, and fortune neuer fayled the, throughe thy desyre to reuenge thy fathers and thyne vncles deathe (wherby all your familye was almoste brought to extreme calamitie) thou hast purchased the a noble fame. Thou haste receyued Spayne, that was before lost, driuynge from that countrey. iiii. notable armies of the Carthaginenses, that before dyd possesse the same. Afterwarde being made consul, when other men lacked hertes to defende Italy, theyr owne countrey, thou tokest on the to sayle into Affrica: where sleinge two great hostes, and in one houre takynge and burninge two riche and stronge campes: And after the taking of the mighty kyng Syphax, with many cities and castelles of his realme, and of our empire of Carthage: at the laste thou haste nowe plucked me frome the possession of Italy: whiche these. xvi. yeres I haue with stronge hande kepte and enioyed. Nowe hauynge all these prosperous chaunces, it is lyke, that thy minde may be more desirous of victory, then of peace. And truely I haue knowen yours and suche lyke hertes and courages, to be euer more great and valyaunt, then wyse and profytable. The daies also haue ben, that fortune dyd in lyke maner shine bryghte and smyle vppon me. But if the goddes wolde gyue vs in prosperitie good and right mindes: we wold not onely consyder thynges that haue happed, but also what mighte happen vnto vs. And settynge all other exaumples aparte, I my selfe maye be best a document of lernyng vnto the, for all kindes of fortune. I had not longe agone mine host encamped betwene the riuer of Amenes and the citie of Rome, and displayed my banners before the walles of the citie: Nowe after the losse of my two bretherne, which were full good and noble capitaynes, I am here to succour myne owne troubled & sore vexed countrey, gladde and desyrous to praye, that myne owne citie maye be delyuered from the daungers, wherwith I assayled then your citie. Let no man put to moche confydence in hyghe and swellyng fortune. Better it is, and more certain, to be sure of peace, then to hope for victory. The one thou hast nowe in thine owne handes: the other is in the hande of the goddes. Put not the felicitie, whiche in many yeres thou hast atteigned, into one houres ieoperdy. Call to thy mynde, both

thine

thyne owne power, and the power of fortune: which in warre is common. On bothe partes be men and weapons of warre. And conſyder, that chaunces be varyable in all our affayres, ſpecially in battayle. And in caſe thou vanquiſhe vs in battayle, thou ſhalte not wynne ſo moche glory and profyte, aboue that thou mayſt haue of vs by peace: as thou ſhalte loſe, in caſe fortune turne agaynſte the. For in one houre fortune maye ouerthrow, that in longe ſpace hath ben gotten, and alſo that is loked for, whiche ye truſte to haue. Nowe it is in thy power, to ioyne all thynges to gether by peace P. Cornelius. But if it come to further tryall, we muſte bothe take ſuche fortune as the goddes wyll ſende. Amonge other exaumples of felicitie, Marcus Attilius may be well remembred for one, who arryued here in this ſame countrey of Affrica, and wynning the victorye vppon our forefathes the Carthaginenſes, denyed to graunt them peace, which they inſtantly required of hym. But at the laſt, for that he coulde not meaſure his felicitie, nor moderate Fortune, that ſo hyghly aduaunced hym: therfore his fall was the fowler, by howe moch he was the more hygher eleuate in proſperitie. It belōgeth not to him that aſketh peace, but to hym that gyueth peace, to appoynte the conditions of peace: But we knolwegyng our defaulte, wyl appoynt to our ſelues condigne puniſhemente for the ſame, not refuſynge to leaue vnto you the poſſeſſion of ſuche countreys, for whiche the warre beganne, as Sicilia, Sardinia, Spayne, and all the Iles within the ſea, betwene Italye and Affrica. And we of Carthage, beinge contented with Affrica onelye (ſenſe it hath ſoo pleaſed the goddes) wyll ſuffer you to enioye the Empyre of dyuerſe ſtraunge countreys and dominions, gotten bothe by ſea and by lande. Paraduenture in the aſkynge of peace heretofore ye haue not bene playnelye and iuſtely delte withall, whiche cauſeth you to myſtruſte the faythe and promyſe of the Carthaginenſes. But therin, as touchyng the obſeruynge of peace when it is taken, it is moche to be conſydered, what the perſons be, by whom the peace is required. For as I haue harde it tolde Scipio, your fathers heretofore denyed the Carthaginenſes peace, for that the perſones, that came to intreate therfore, were of ſmall dignitie or eſtimation. But nowe doo I Anniball requyre peace, whiche I woulde not deſyre, onleſſe I thoughte it profytable, and for the ſame

profyt that J do demande it, for the same wyll J also styll kepe and conserue it. And as J haue endeuoured my selfe, that no man shoulde forethynke hym of the warre begunne thorough mine occasion: in like maner shal J nowe enforce my selfe, that none shal repent of the peace, which J shall take. This oration finished, Scipio made him therynto this aunswere.

¶ The answere of Scipio to the oration of Anniball, with the battaile therupon had betwene them, wherin Anniball was vanquished and put to flyght. Ca. lxx.

I knewe ryght well Anniball, that the truste of thy comyng home, made the Carthaginenses to breake the truse betwene vs taken, and also to let all further hope of peace. And this thou doest not denye thy selfe: but thou nowe withdrawest from vs all thynges that we requyre, and were also graunted in that treatise of peace, saue onely those countreys, wherof we haue alredy the possession. Wherfore as thou doest labour, that thy citezens may feele of what burthen they be discharged by the: so must J trauayle, that noo parte of that, whyche they haue promysed me, shall be nowe withdrawen, for to remayne vnto theim as a rewarde of their vntrouth, consyderyng the same they: vntrouthe, hathe made theim vnwoorthye to haue the conditions of peace before to theim offered. Neyther dyd our father fyrste make warre for Sicilia, nor we nowe for Spayn: But than the dangier, wherin the Mamertines our frendes and fellowes were put into: and nowe the distruction of Sagunt, caused vs iustly to make warre. That all hath bene by your prouocation, thou hast confessed thy selfe. The goddis also be witnesses, who gaue suche ende to the first warre, as of right it behoued to haue. And in this warre haue gyuen: and J doubt not, but wil giue like end. As for my part, J consyder well, bothe the infirmitie of man, and the power of fortune: and J know, that all our actes be subiect to a. m. chances. But as J do knowlage, that in case thou woldist haue come to desire peace of me, before J toke so gret trauaile, to come into Affrica, and that thou haddest with thy good wil departed with thine army out of Italy: if J had then denied thy requeste, J might well haue been iudged, to haue wrought proudely and stubburnely. Euen so now after that J haue

haue drawē the and thy power home into Affrica, where thou arte redy to make vs reſiſtence: And ſeinge that a peace and truce was ones taken, whiche ye haue broken, taking our ſhippes with force in tyme of truce, and violatinge our embaſſadours: I may ryghte well with honour, byd you prepare for the warre, ſens ybu could not hold you contented with peace, whan ye had it.

Thus without any agrement of peace, the. ii. capytaines brake of their communication, and departed euery one to his company, determining to try the matter by battail, and to take ſuche fortune as the goddis wolde gyue theim.

¶ As ſoone as they were come into their campes, they openly on bothe partes gaue commaundement to their ſouldiours, to make them redy to fyght now theyr laſt battaile, wherby in cas they dyd ouercome, they ſhulde haue felicitie, not for one day, but for euer. For before the next nyght, they ſhuld know, whether Rome or Carthage ſhuld haue the ſuperiorite. And that not onely of Italye or of Affrica: but of all the worlde, whiche ſhulde be a rewarde nowe to hym, that ſhuld haue the victory. On the contrary part, the peryll and ieoperdye was no leſſe declared to that part, whiche ſhulde haue the worſe in this battayle. For the Romaynes hadde no place, whether to flye, beinge in a ſtraunge countrey. And to Carthage muſte nedes come an vtter diſtruction, in caſe this their laſt army of refuge were vanquiſhed or ouerthrowen.

¶ In this great ieopardy on the next day the. ii. valyant capitaynes of the two moſt noble and rycheſt people, ſette furthe with their. ii. myghty armies: intendynge that day, eyther to increaſe the honour, whiche before they had gotten, or els to be ouerthrowen and loſe all. Hoope and feare were myngled bothe togyther in theyr myndes. And whan they ſawe theyr owne battaile, and the battayle of their ennemies: they conceiued in their myndes both ioye and ſorowe. And that that the ſouldiours fayled to remembre, theyr capitaines declared vnto theim, with greate warnynges and exhortations. Annball reherſed to his people all theyr actes done in Italy: how many Romayne capytaynes, and howe many armyes they hadde ſlayne. Scipio ſhewed his conqueſtes in Spayne, and alſo of late in Affrica, with the confeſſyon of his ennemyes, that they for feare were conſtrayned to requyre peace: although

theyr vntrouth wold not suffre theim to kepe the same, whan they had it. Wherfore he gessed, that the goddis had appointed theim to fyght in this bataile, with lyke succesſe and lucke, as they had whā they fought at the yle of Egates. Now (sayd he) all warre & trauayle is at an end. The spoyle of Carthage is euen at hande, after whyche ye shall retourne home in to your countreye, to youre parentes, your wyues, your chylderne, and your owne goodes. These comfortable woordes he sette furthe, with suche gesture of his bodye, and merye countenaunce, as though he hadde al redy hadde the victory of his ennemies. Afterward he putte his men in order. First his spearemen, than his chiefe and mooste assured footemen, not in greate multitudes togyther before any standarde, but in smalle bandes, whyche shoulde be a certayne space distaunt the one from the other, to the intent the elephantes of theyr ennemyes myghte come betweene the sayde bandes, and be receyued of theim, without breakynge any arraye. In these voyde spaces betweene the sayde bandes, he appoynted dyuers of his lyghtest harneysed souldiours to stande, to fulfyll the voyde places, commaundynge theim, that whan the elephantes pressed on theim, that they shuld recule behynde the sayd bandes, whyche were in array, or els to steppe in among those that went before the standerdes, on their right hande, or on their left hand, giuing way to the vnruly beastis to entre amonge his men, where with weapons they myght be wounded and ouerthrowen. The lefte wynge ledde Lelius with the Italyan horsemen. The ryghte wynge ledde Massanissa with his Numidians.

¶ Annibal on the other part, in the forefront of his battaile, sette his elephantes, whyche were to the numbre of. lxxx. After whome he put in ordre all suche nations as were hyred, or came to his succour, as Liguriens, Frenchemen, and men of the Iles named Baleares, now called Maiorque and Minorque, myngled amonge a great numbre of Moores. In the seconde battaile he sette his Carthaginenses, with the Africanes, and the legion of the Lacedemonians, sent thither to the succours of the Carthaginenses from Philip kyng of Macedonie. And within a lyttell space of from theim, he placed the Italians, which cam with him, whan he left that cuntrey. The winges wer of horsemen. The left winge helde the Numidian

horse,

horſemen. The right wynge was of the Carthaginenſes. In this hoſte of Annibal wer men of diuers nations & cuntreis, of diuers tunges and langages, they were alſo different in lawes, armour, and in aparaile. To euery one of theſe he gaue ſundry and diuers exhortations, either of feare, or of comfort. To ſuche as were come to his ſuccours he promyſed great rewarde of the pray, whiche ſhulde be wonne by their induſtry and trauaile. To the Liguriens he promiſed a plentiful reward of the fertile and pleaſaunt fieldes in Italy. The Moores and Numidians he exhorted to do well, for feare leſte they ſhulde els be in greuous ſeruitude of Maſſaniſſa. The Frenchemenne wer ſet on by the naturall hatred, which they bare to the Romaynes. The Carthaginenſes he put in remembrance to fight for the walles of their naturall cuntrey, for their propre goodes, for the ſepulchres of their elders, for their children, their parentes and trembling wiues. There is no meane way (ſayde he) now to be put betwene hope and feare. For either muſt we ſuffre miſerable ſeruitude, after the diſtruction of our citie and cuntrey, orels obteine the empire of all the worlde.

¶ By that tyme this noble capitayn had finyſhed his wordes: the Romaynes blewe vp theyr trumpettes and hornes, makynge ſo terrible a noyſe and clamour, that a greate numbre of the elephantes, beinge furyouſe, tourned backe vppon theyr companye, ſpecially vppon the lefte wynge of the Moores and Numidians. Whiche perceyued well Maſſaniſſa, wherefore he alſo inuaded the ſame wing with his horſemen, putting theim to ſuche feare, that they fledde, leauynge that ſyde of the hoſte bare of ſuccour. Diuers of the elephantes by force wer conſtrained to entre the myddle battaile, to whome anone the lyght armed ſouldiours gaue place, ſuffryng theim to entre among theim, where they were thruſt in with ſpeares & iauelyns, ſo that many were there ſlain. During this while, Lelius with his horſmen aſſailed the right wing of the horſmē of Carthage, puttīg thē alſo to flight: ſo that the body of the hoſt was of both ſides left without defence of horſmē, the winges being chaſed away: thā began the battel of fotemen to be ſtrōg on both partes. Great wer the cries that wer there made: but the Romans wer of better corage, of ſtronger hope, & of more ſtrēgth. wherfore in a ſhort ſpace, they cauſed their enmies to giue back a certain ſpace of groūd. And whā thei had ous gotē

some grounde, they with theyr shyeldes and targettes came still thrusting on theyr ennemies, bearing them backe, tyl some sone after the fyrste battayle, tourninge theyr backes, began to flie, and came to the second battayle of the Carthaginenses and Moores, who wolde not suffer them to entre, leste they shulde cause all theyr arraye to be broken. Wherfore betwene them and theyr owne fellowes began great debate and slaughter: soo that the Carthaginenses were constrayned to fyghte, bothe with theyr owne vnruly felowes, and also with the Romaynes theyr ennemies. Neuertheleſſe they wolde in no wyse receyue theyr felowes that fledde in amonge them, leſte they shulde mengle that fearefull sorte, whiche in the fyrghte were hurte and wounded, amonge them that were earneſtly bent to fight: Whiche myght haue turned moche more to theyr displeasure. But dryuing them away by heapes, compelled them to go to gether, some into the one side of theym, some abrode the fieldes. Great was the occision that was made of them, in so moche that the Romaynes coulde not come to fyghte with the Carthaginenses: but fyrste they muste with peyne go ouer the dead bodies of them that were slayne. Then Scipio caused a troumpet to be blowen, to withdrawe his men of the firſt battayle, who had ben sore trauayled, and many of them were sore wounded. Theſe caused he to stand behinde the rereward, and made the same rerewarde of his beſt men to auaunce forewarde vpon the Carthaginenses. Then beganne the battayle newe agayne: whiche was very sore and ſierse. For then came the Romaynes to the moſt assured and strongeſt men, and moſt expert in warres, who before beinge vanquiſhed twyse, were nowe lothe and ashamed to be vanquiſhed. But the Romaynes were farre mo in noumbre, and had taken to them a great courage, by dryuinge awaye bothe the wynges, and also the forewarde of theyr ennemies.

¶ Whyles they thus foughte in the seconde battayle, Lelius and Maſſaniſſa returned with theyr horsemen from the chase of the wynges of the Carthaginenses: and with all their power and violence came on the backes of the seconde battayle of the Carthaginenses, whiche were buſy and valiauntly fought. Then were they not able to endure theyr violence, but were with force put to fyrght and slayne on all partes. There were that day slayne and taken of the Carthaginenses aboute .xl. M

men.

men. Many elephantes, and many ſtandardes of noble men were taken in that battayll. Great alſo was the praye of the ſpoyle founde in the Campe, which all the Romanes toke and brought to their ſhippes. The Romaynes alſo loſt at this battayle aboue. x. M. men. Anniball, with a fewe with him, fledde to Adrument: But he neuer departed from the field, til he had bothe in the battayle and before, aſſayed to do aſmoche as was poſſyble for to be done, for the ſafegard of his people. Wherin he that day had prayſe bothe of Scipio, & of al other expert men of warre of the Romains: ſpecially for the ordering of his battayl. For fyrſt he ſet in the forefront his great nomber of elephantes, whoſe gret ſtrength and intollerable violence ſhuld breke the arraye of the Romaines, putting them out of order, whyche is halfe the wynnynge of a battail. Then ſet he foremoſt his hyred ſouldiours of diuers nations: to the intent ſuch a confuſed nombre of ſtrangers (who fought for no great faith or loue, but onely for money) ſholde haue no place nor tyme to flee from the battayle. Alſo to the intent ſuche ſtrangers ſhuld endure the fyrſt violence of his ennemies, makyng them wery and weake, before his chiefe men of moſt truſt ſhould haue any thyng to do. Then after theim were his Carthaginenſes and Affricans, his moſt truſtie ſouldiours. Laſt of al a good ſpace behinde theim, he placed his Italiens, as people whome he knew not wel, whether they ſhuld be his friendes or his foes. Thus when all his pollicie wolde not ſerue hym, nor yet his ſtrengthe coulde helpe, he fledde (as I ſayd before) to Adrument: and from thenſe he was ſent for to come to Carthage. Whyther he came the. xxxvi. yere after his departynge from thenſe, beinge but a chylde. There in the open aſſemble of the noble men of the citie he confeſſed hym ſelfe to be vanquiſhed: and that there was none other hope of ſafegarde for them, but by obteyninge of peace.

¶ The conditions of peace graũted to the Carthaginenſes by Scipio: and the ratyfyeng of the ſame by the ſenate. Ca. lxxi.

AS Scipio and his hoſte were comynge to his ſhippes, laden with a ryche praie, worde was brought hym, that P. Lentulus was arriued at Utica, with. l. ſhippes of warre, and an. C. hulkes laden with all maner of prouiſion.

Wherfore

Wherfore Scipio, thynkinge to put the citie of Carthage in feare on al partes: Fyrst sent Lelius to Rome, to beare newes of his victory. And then sent Cn. Octauius by lande towarde Carthage, with his army of horsemen and fotemen. Whiles he, takyng with hym bothe the newe nauy of shyppes, brought hym by Lentulus, and also his olde nauye, wente by sea from Utica towardes the hauen of Carthage. He had but a whyle sailed on the sea, when a shippe of Carthage met hym, couered all with white lynnen clothe, and full of bowes of Oliue, in token of peace. In whiche shippe were. x. embassadours of the prynces of Carthage, sente by the mynde of Anniball to desyre peace. When this shyppe was come to the fore parte of Scipios ship, the couerynge was taken awaye, and the legates ryght humbly required hym to extende his mercy and pitie vpon them. But other aunswere had they none giuen them, but that they shoulde come to hym to Tunes, for to that place he sayde he wolde remoue his campe. With this aunswere they departed: and he wente with his nauy of shippes before Carthage, partely to viewe the situation of the towne, partely to make the inhabitantes therof the more afraide. But after smal soiourninge there, he departed frome thense, and returned to Utica: And from thense was goinge to Tunes, when sodeine newes wer brought him, that Uermina, the sonne of Syphax, with a great numbre of horsemen and fotemen, was comyng to the succours of the Carthaginenses. To encountre with these people, Scipio incontinent sente a good parte of the fotemen of his host, and all his horsemen, who metynge with theim, at theyr fyrste reencountre put them to flyght, and stoppinge the passages, wherby they myght by fleinge escape, they slewe of the Numidiens. xv. M. and toke aboue. xii. C. with many horses of that countrey, to the numbre of. xv. C. and with peyne the capitayne hym selfe escaped, hauynge a small numbre with hym. From thense the campe was pytched at Tunes, in the olde place, where they before had set it. Thyther came. xxx. noble men of Carthage embassadours, sent vnto Scipio, who with moche more lamentation then the other had done before, required peace of Scipio, constrained more therunto through the contrarietie of Fortune, and by the late ouerthrow of their friende Uermina: And they were lykewise herde with lesse pitie, bicause of theyr late vntruthe and rebellion. In so moche

that

that it was thought by moſte men, that the citie of Carthage myghte then iuſtely and worthely be deſtroyed by theim. And ſo had it ben in dede, had not one thynge ſpecially moued Scipio to the contrarye. Whiche was, that the newe conſull was comynge thyther, whoſe deſyre was, to haue the honour and fame of that victory, and of fynishinge that warre, whiche was before achieued by Scipios traueile, to his great daungier. And for this cauſe Scipio and his counſaylours wer fully minded to take peace with the Carthaginenſes. Wherefore the nexte day he called the legates of Carthage before him, greatly rebukinge them of the vntrewth to him diuers times shewed: Wyllynge theim nowe at the laſt, beinge taughte by good experience, to regarde bothe theyr goddes and theyr othes, and shewinge them, that he, hauing pitie of the deſtruction of theim and of theyr ſoo noble a citie, was contented to graunte them peace vpon theſe conditions. Fyrſte, that they ſhoulde lyue free after theyr owne lawes and cuſtomes, enioyinge all ſuche cities and townes in Affrica, as they hadde in poſſeſſion before the warre betwene theim taken. And that frome that daye forthe, the Romaynes ſhulde no more deſtroye or ſpoyle any parte therof. Agayne, the Carthaginenſes ſhulde reſtore to the Romaynes all ſuche perſons as were fled and runne away from the Romayns, and all the priſoners of the Romains, and theyr friendes, whom they had in captiuite. Alſo that they ſhoulde delyuer theim all theyr ſhyppes of warre, and other ſhyppes, excepte onely galeys, hauynge thre orders of oores in a piece. And that they ſhoulde alſo delyuer vp all theyr elephantes, whiche were alredye tamed and made apte for the warre: neyther ſhulde they after tame any moo. Agayne, that they ſhoulde moue no warre in Affrica, nor without Affrica, but by the lycence or commaundemente of the Romaynes. Furthermore, that they ſhulde reſtore vnto Maſſaniſſa all ſuche thynges as they hadde taken of his, makynge a peace and agrement with hym. And alſo yelde vnto the Romayne hoſte wheate and wages vnto the return of the legates from Rome. Beſydes all this, they ſhulde paye. r. M. talentes of ſyluer in fyftye yeres: durynge whiche tyme, they ſhulde yerely paye that ſumme, deuyded in euen portions. For the paymente wherof, and perfourmaunce of theſe condytions, they ſhoulde delyuer hym an. C. pledges of his owne election. Wherof

none shuld be vnder thage of. xiiii. yeres, neither aboue thage of. xxx. Upon these conditions, he agreed to giue them truce: so that they wolde delyuer to him out of hand all suche hulkes or shyppes of burthen, with their fraught and implementes, which the Carthaginenses toke from theim, duringe the laste tyme of truse, that he had before graunted theim: Or elles they shulde neither loke for truse nor for peace.

¶ Whan the legates were come to Carthage, they were cõmaunded to declare the same conditions of peace openly before the congregation of the people therevnto assembled. Against which conditions one Hysgo, a noble man of Carthage, spake very sore, and wold haue dissuaded the people from the taking of peace. To whose sayinges many of the vnruly multitude gaue good audience. But Annibal, being therwith greatly moued, went to him, and with force drewe him downe from his place. Which his violent facion had not bene vsed before in that citie, and was thought of dyuers to be contrary to the libertie of their citie: where before all people had free libertie to speake their opinions: Annibal being vsed to the facion of the warres, more than to the peasible vse of the citie: remembryng the liberties therof, excused his rudenesse in this maner. Whan I departed from this citie, I was but. ix. yeres olde, whiche is nowe. xxxvi. yeres agone: during which time I haue sufficiently knowen and been instructed in all feates of warre, beinge taught by the chaunces of fortune, euen frome my chyldehoode. Wherfore beynge disused soo longe space frome the lawes, maners, and customes of the citie, although I doo forgette the liberties and vses therof, I am the lesse to be blamed. Thus after he hadde excused his folye, he perswaded the people to the takynge of peace, and howe necessary it was nowe for theim, and also howe reasonable the conditions were, consyderynge theyr presente estate. To whiche his perswasions the greatest parte of the multitude agreed, and the resisters agaynste it, were greately blamed. The greatest doubte was, howe they myghte make restitution of that that was taken frome the Romaynes in the tyme of truce. For all was spoyled and goone, neyther knewe they, who hadde theym, onely the shyppes and hulkes remaygned. But in conclusyon, worde was sent agayne to Scipio, by the same legates, that they wold receyue his conditions of peace.

And

And where they coulde not knowe, who had the goodes that wer in the hulkes: they wold pay therfore at his owne iudgement. The veſſels and men ſhulde be reſtored.

¶Thus was the truce gyuen to the citie of Carthage for thre monethes, with a commaundement, that duryng the time of truce, they ſhulde ſende embaſſadours to no place, but only to Rome. And in caſe that any embaſſadours were ſent frome any place to Carthage, that they ſhuld in no wyſe depart from thens, vntyll the Romayne capitayne were aſcertayned what they were, and what was the cauſe of theyr comming.

¶Soone after went the legates of Carthage to Rome: with whom were ſent L. Ueturius Philo, M. Martius Valla, and Lucius Scipio, brother to P. Scipio the Romayn capytayn.

¶When they were come thyther, L. Ueturius Philo declared, howe Scipio hadde foughten with Annibal, and ouercome the Carthaginenſes, to theyr vtter confuſyon, makynge nowe an ende of the dolefull longe warre, that had been betwene the Romaynes and theim. And that alſo Uermina, the ſonne of Syphax, with his power, was beaten and ouercome. Of whyche newes the ſenatours beinge meruaylous ioyfull, commaunded hym to publyſſhe the ſame gladde tydynges, to the whole multitude of the citezens. Who makynge greatte ioye, gaue thankes for the vyctory to the goddis. Than wer the legates of Carthage broughte into the ſenate. And whan the ſenatours behelde the age, the dignitie, and the grauitie of the ambaſſadours (who were of the mooſte noble menne of the citie of Carthage) than they iudged, that they intended playnely and ſyncerely to intreate of peace. Amonge other of theſe nobles of Carthage, there was one Aſdruball, called Hedus, one of the chiefe of theim, bothe in auctoritie and in nobilitie: who was euer deſyrous of peace, and held moche agaynſte Annibal and his affinitie. This Aſdruball ſayde, that a fewe couetous perſonnes of the citie were culpable for this warre, and not the comminaltie. Some faultes, whyche were layde to theym, he excuſed: ſome other he confeſſed, leſte by the denying of all, he myght be the worſe hearde of the ſenate. Than he perſwaded the Senatours to vſe theyr proſperous fortune gentylly, and in due temperance, profeſſynge euer, that in caſe the Carthaginenſes would haue folowed the myndes of hym, and of Hanno, takynge the

tyme whan it was offered: that they had beene the gyuers to other of peace, vppon suche conditions as they were nowe gladde to take at others handes. But (sayde he) it is but seldome sene, that good fortune and a good mynd be gyuen both at ones to men. The cause of the conquestes of you Romains euer chiefly hath been, for that in prosperitie ye haue had the remembrance to consulte of thynges to come. And your empyre hath bene more encreased by gentylnes and fauour shewed to nations, whom ye haue vanquyshed, than it hath bene by the victories gotten on theim.

¶ After that Asdruball had finysshed his oration, the other ambassadours made moche more lamentable proposityons, bewayling the miserable fall of the state of the Carthaginenses, who being the greatest lordes in honour of the worlde, were nowe constrayned to abyde enclosed within the walles of the citie, hauyng nothing els, that they myghte clayme propriete of. Ye and that same only citie they helde, but vpon the goodnes and forbearyng of the Romaynes, whiles theyr pleasure was, to forbere the vtter distruction therof. With these humble and gentyll woordes, the senatours vniuersally were fully inclyned to peace. Than one of the senatours spake out with loude voyce: If peace be graunted to the Carthaginenses, by what goddis shall they sweare, and make peace, whan they haue broken promise, and deceiued the goddis, by whom they sware, whan they laste toke peace with vs: To whom the sayd Asdruball answered, euen by the same goddis wyll we sweare, who be so angry, and are reuenged on vs, that brake oure laste truse and leage. Hereypon all the senatours and the comons, being inclyned to peace, determined, that by thaduise of. x. legates of Rome, P. Scipio shulde make with theim the peace, vpon suche conditions as to him semed best. The legates wer named, and made theim redy to depart with the Carthaginenses. For the whiche the ambassadours gaue greate thankes to the senate, of theyr goodnes to theim shewed: desyryng them before their departyng, to licence theim to entre the citie, and to visite certayne of their frendes and kynnesmen, that were kepte in the citie, as prisoners. whiche requeste was graunted theim. And they desyred also, that they myght redeme diuers of theim vpon reasonable raunsom. They were cõmaunded to write the names of suche as they wolde haue redeemed. And

they

they named .ii. C. of theim, who incontinent were delyuered to the .x. legates, to take with theim into Affrica to Scipio, wyllyng hym, in caſe the peace went forwardes with the Carthaginenſes: that then he ſhoulde rendre theſe. ii. C. pryſoners to the Carthaginenſes, free without payinge any raunſome. Theſe thynges beynge ſo concluded, the Carthaginenſes, with the Romayne legates, departed towardes Affrica. And whan they cam to Scipio they concluded the peace with hym vppon the conditions before ſpecified. The ſhyppes of Carthage, the elephantes, the fugitiues and priſoners, to the numbre of. iiii. M. were delyuered to Scipio: among whome was one Terentius Culleo, a notable ſenator of Rome. The ſhyppes, vpon the deliuerie of theim, were had furth into the ſea, to the numbre of. v. C. of al ſortes: and there by the commaundement of Scipio were ſet all on fyre. Which bourninge was as ſorowfull a ſyght to the Carthaginenſes, as if they had ſene the whole citie of Carthage on fyre.

Scipio returneth to Rome with greate triumphe and ioye of all the people. Cap. lxxii.

Thus ended the warres betwene the Romaynes and the Carthaginenſes, more gentylly than it was thoughte it ſhulde haue bene. For Scipio dyuers tymes after reported, that the couetouſe and hyghe mynde, fyrſt of Claudius Nero, and after of Cn. Cornelius, deſyrynge both the honoure of the victorye of Carthage, was the cauſe, that the citie of Carthage was not vtterly diſtroyed and waſted. After the ſayde peace thus taken, the money, whyche ſhulde be preſently payde to the Romaynes, was very greuous to the Carthaginenſes. Whoſe ſtocke and common ſubſtaunce was before greatly waſted, by reaſon of the longe contynuall warres. Wherefore at the leuyinge of the ſayde ſumme of theyr pryuate ſubſtaunce, greate lamentation and wepinge was made in the citie. Whiche Annibal beholdynge, coulde not forbeare to laugh. Wherat Aſdrubal Hedus toke great indignation, rebukynge hym, for that he (beynge the verye origynall cauſe of al theyr ſorowe) in the common mournyng of the citie, ſhulde ſo laugh. Therynto Annibal aunſwered: If ye myghte beholde the inwarde thoughte of my mynde,

as ye maye the outwarde apparent countenaunce of my face, ye shulde parceiue this laughter not to come of any ioy of the herte, but of a madnesse and a frenesie. Neuer the lesse this my laughter is not so inordinate, nor cometh not so out of time, as your teares do. For you shuld haue wept, when your armour was taken frō you, and your shippes burned before your eies: and when your libertie of makinge of warres with any straunger (but onely by lycence of the Romaynes) was taken frome you. wherin rested your chiefe vndoinge and greatteſt falle. But ye fele no hurte, oneleſſe it touche your priuate welthe. The great hurte of the common welthe ye neyther fele nor regarde. When your ennemies had the greate spoyle, after the victorie had, and when Carthage remayned alone, and naked without armour or defence, among so many armed men of Affrica: Then no man wepte nor mourned. But nowe, when ye must pay the tribute of your owne priuate goodes: euery man wepeth, as ye wolde do at the burienge of all your friendes. I feare it sore, that ye shall shortly perceyue, that ye wepte now in your leaſte harmes, and the worſt to be behinde.

¶ When the peace was thus cōcluded, betwen the Romains and the Carthaginenſes, Scipio, calling his people together, beſides that he reſtored vnto Maſſaniſſa his fathers kyngedome: he alſo gaue him the citie of Cyrtha, and other townes and groundes that he had wonne of Syphax. Afterwarde he cauſed Cn. Octauius, to delyuer to Cn. Cornelius, the newe conſull, his nauy that he brought into Sicilia. Then cauſed he the embaſſadours of Carthage to go towardes Rome, there to haue all thinges confirmed by the auctoritie of the Senate, whiche he by the auctoritie of the Romayne legates had before concluded with them.

¶ Thus all thynges beinge at peace, both by ſea and by lande, he with his army toke shippynge, and sayled ouer into Sicilia, and from thenſe into Italye: where he was met by the men of the countrey with great honour and ioye: ſo gladde was euery man bothe of peace and of victorye. The poore men of the townes and cities by the waye, as he went towarde Rome, ran forthe to ſe hym, and to prayſe hym. Thus in greate honour came he into Rome, where he was receiued into the citie with mooſte noble triumphe. After that he enryched the citie with greate ſummes of golde and ſyluer, of the prayes that he had taken,

taken, beſyde that he diſtributed amonge his ſouldiours. xl. M. li. And of the conqueſt, whiche he had made in Affrica, he was called Scipio Affricanus euer after, to the great honour of all his familie and ſucceſſion.

¶ Annibal fleith by ſea to Antiochus kynge of Syria, Antiochus moueth warre to the Romaynes, L. Cornelius Scipio sayleth into Asia, fyghteth with Antiochus, vanquiſheth hym, graunteth hym peace vpon conditions, and returneth to Rome. Cap. lxxiii.

AFter the warres thus ended in Affrica, the Carthaginenſes continued in peace a certayne ſeaſon. At the laſt the ennemies of Annibal, to worke him diſpleaſure, ſent worde to Rome to the ſenate, that Annibal had pryuely ſente meſſangers and letters to Antiochus the kynge of Siria, mouynge hym, to warre with the Romaynes. And alſo that meſſangers were ſente with letters ſecretely from Antiochus to Annibal. Certifieng them further, that the mynde of Annibal was ſuche, that he coulde neuer be contented, till he harde the ſounde of harneis vpon mennes backes. The Romaynes beinge angry therat, ſent legates thither, L. Seruilius, Claudius Marcellus, and Terentius Culleo, to try, whether the information to them made, were true or no: Commanding them, to publiſhe abrode, that the cauſe of theyr coming was, to here and determine certaine matters in controuerſie, which wer betwene the Carthaginēſes & the king Maſſaniſſa, & none other. ¶ This tale publiſhed by them, was beleued to be true of the common people. But Annibal therwith could not be blinded. He knewe full well, that he onely was the cauſe of theyr comminge. Wherfore thynkinge for a ſeaſon to gyue place, till the time might better ſerue hym. He with. ii. other departed oute of the citie in the begynninge of the night, in a ſtraungers apparaile, and came to a place: where he before had apointed his horſes to mete him, and from thenſe with ſpede he wente to a caſtell of his owne by the ſea ſyde, where a ſhip of Italy awaited for hym, apoynted for the ſame purpoſe. In whiche ſhyp he ſayled from Affrica, and arriued the ſame day in the Ile of Circyna, makynge more dole all the way for the harde chaunces that were happed to his countreye, then he dydde for his

owne

owne euyll fortune. In the hauen of Circyna he founde many shyppes laden with marchaundyse, and at his landinge, greate resorte of people of the ile came vnto hym, salutynge hym, and makynge of his comynge great ioye. Annibal fearynge, leste some of those shippes in the nyght shuld departe from the hauen, and shewe in Affrica, that they had sene hym in Circyna: he deuised to make a solemne sacrifice, and a great feast, to the which he badde al the maisters of the shyppes that were in the hauen, and all the marchauntes that were in the same. And for that the wether was very hot (being about the middes of sommer) he caused al the sailes of the ships, with the crosse mastes, wherunto the sayles be fastened, to be all broughte on lande. Wherwith he made pauilions and bowres, to defende theym from the vehement heate of the sonne, whyle they souped on the shore. The feast was sumptuous, as the tyme might serue therto, and was kept very solempnely. There was wine great plenty, wherwith many were drunken and heuy headed. The banket te was also purposely prolonged, tyll it was farre in the nyght. Then fell the marchauntes a slepe, with the maryners also. Whiche Annibal espienge, thoughte he had then good tyme to mocke them, and takynge his shyppe, secretly departed, leauynge them faste on slepe. On the morowe, when the maryners arose with heuy heades, they caryed theyr sayles and other tackelinges agayne to the shyppes, preparynge all thynges redy. But or they myght bryng al to passe, they spent a good parte of the nexte daye.

¶ On the morowe after the departyng of Annibal from Carthage, his friendes, that vsually resorted to his company, after that they coulde not fynde hym, nor here of hym, they gathered a great multitude of the citie together in the market place, inquiringe, if any newes coulde be shewed of the chiefe ruler of theyr citie. Some coniectured, that he was fledde away for feare of his conspiracie againste the Romaynes. Some other sayde, that the Romaynes had by some crafty traine conspired his deathe. Thus dyuerse were the tales, accordynge to the diuersitie of sectes that were in the citie. Tydynges sone after was brought thyther, that he was sene at Circyna. Than the Romayne legates openly in the senate of Carthage, founde greate lacke, and blamed greately the citezens and rulers, for suffrynge hym to departe, consyderynge the priuie letters and

messages

meſſages that were ſente betwene him and Antiochus, ſaying. That he wolde neuer be ſatiſfyed, tyll he hadde moued warre throughe all the worlde. The Carthaginenſes excuſed theym ſelues, affyrmynge, that they were nothyng priuie nor conſentynge to his departynge.

¶ Now was Annibal arriued at Tyrus, where he was receyued honorably, and with great ioy: and there he ſoiourned certaine daies. From thenſe he ſayled to Antioche, and after that to Epheſus, where he founde the king Antiochus: who was in great doubte before his comynge, in what maner he ſhulde mainteygne his warres againſt the Romayns. The kyng was greatly comforted by the meane of his coming, and alſo by the beinge there of the embaſſadours of the Etholiens: whoo the ſame tyme wer departed from the amitie of the Romaines. He was determined to moue warre: for agree wolde he not to certaine conditions of peace, that the Romaines preſcribed vnto him. Whiche he thought ſhuld be greatly to the loſſe both of his honour and alſo of his dominions. For they wold haue cauſed hym to leaue the poſſeſſion of certayne cities, that he had. And alſo that he ſhuld not medle in Grece: but how and where he ſhulde moue this warre, he was not determyned. Annibal was greatly in his fauour, and chiefly for that he thought him an expert man & a mete counſaylour in his affayres agaynſt the Romaynes. Annibal euer was of the opinion, that he ſhulde make warre in Italy, for that the countrey of Italy is able to furnyſhe an army of vitayles and all thynges neceſſary, and alſo of ſouldiours, if he ſhulde haue nede of men of armes at any tyme. But (ſayde he) if no warre be moued in Italy, ſoo that the Romaynes maye haue all the hole power therof, to make warre in other regions out of Italy: then is there no prynce nor nation of the worlde able to withſtande the Romaynes. Wherfore if ye wyll delyuer vnto me one. C. of ſhyppes of warre, and. xvi. thouſande fotemenne, with one thouſande of horſemen: I wyll with that power ſayle into Affrica, truſting to cauſe the Carthaginenſes to rebel agaynſte the Romaynes. Or in caſe they wyll not folowe my requeſt: yet wyll I inuade ſome part of Italy, and moue warre to the Romaynes. Then maye you (ſayde he to the kyng) with all the reſt of your power, ſayle into Europe, keppynge your armye in Grece, redy to ſet forwardes as ye ſe cauſe.

¶ This his counseyle was well allowed of the kinge: where=vppon one Ariston, an Ephesien, a wyse and a trustie manne, was chosen to sayle to Carthage, to the friendes of Anni=ball, with priuie and speciall tokens by mouthe, whiche they knewe wer true and not feyned, to shewe vnto theim his pur=pose. For writinge durste he sende none, for feare of takynge of the messangers. His message onely was to be declared vp=pon credence.

¶ But whyle Aryston went on his message, and therin hadde no good spede: the ambassadours of Rome were come to E=phesus, to knowe of Antiochus, the cause why he intended suche warre agaynst the Romaynes, among whiche ambassa=dours it was sayd that P. Scipio, called Affricanus was one. Whiche ambassadours hauyng knowledge, that the kyng An=tiochus was a lyttell before gone agaynste the Pisidians, and fyndyng Annibal there: they diuers times resorted vnto him, and had familyar communication with him: onely to the intent to make him haue a good opinion of the Romaynes, and not to mystruste, that any thyng was intended by theym agaynste him. Among other communication betwen the ambassadours and Annibal, it is remembred, that Scipio demaunded of him, whome he iudged to be the most noble capitayne, that euer he knewe or hearde of. To whome Anniball aunswered, that it was Alexander of Macedony: for that he with a smal power ouercame so many nations, and vanquished so many greate ar=mies in battayle, trauerlynge so many straunge and farre cun=treis, whiche passed the power and witte of mannes cumpasse. Then Scipio demaunded of hym, whom he iudged to be the seconde most noble capytayn. He aunswered, Pyrrhus, which was the most wyse and expert man in placinge his campes, in fortifieng his fortresses with watche and ward, and in getting the hertes of men vnto his obeysaunce. In soo muche, that when he warred in Italye, the Italyens were gladder to be vnder his gouernaunce, beynge but a straungyer, then vnder the dominion and power of the Romaynes. Then demaun=ded Scipio, whome he thoughte to be the thyrde: With=oute fayle (sayde he) it is my selfe. At whych aunswere Sci=pio laughed, and sayde: What wouldest thou then haue sayd, in case thou haddest ouercome me in battayle, as I haue done the? Treuly (sayde Anniball) then woulde I haue putte my selfe before bothe Alexander and Pyrrhus also. This aun=

swer

ſwere ſeemed to Scipio very ſtraunge and proude, whereby he mynded to take from Scipio al his glory.

¶ Durynge this longe taryenge of the Romayne legates at Epheſus, nothynge els was wrought, but that the often metynge and communication of theym with Annibal, made the kynge more to ſuſpecte and myſtruſt hym. Wherupon he was no more called to his councel.

¶ Agayn, one Thoas an Etholien, deſirous to haue the kyng, with all his power, to arryue in Grece, withoute partynge of the ſame his ſtrengthe, ſayde vnto hym: Syr, the greatte citie Demetrias, and the more part of all the cities in Grece, loke daylye for your commynge thyther. And agaynſte your arryuayle, ye ſhall ſee all the countreye aſſemble on the ſea ſyde, ſo ſone as they may by watches perceyue your nauy commynge on the ſea. And as touchyng the parting of your ſhyppes and power: that I can in no wyſe allowe. And in caſe ye were mynded ſo to do, Annibal of all men is moſt vnmete, to haue the rule and gouernance therof.

¶ Fyrſt ye muſt conſyder (ſaid this Thoas) that Annibal is a Carthaginens, and an outlaw or baniſhed man frō his cuntrey: Whoſe crafty witte wyl imagyne dayly a. M. newe deuyſes, euen as fortune dothe varye, or as it ſhall fall into his brayne. Agayne yf it ſhoulde chaunce, that Annibal looſe his naue, or his men to be vanquyſhed: the loſſe wil be no leſſe, then if any other capitayne had loſte theym. But in caſe it ſhoulde happen hym to haue the victorye, the honour therof ſhall wholly abyde with Annibal, and not with Antiochus. Furthermore, if fortune ſo well ſerue, that Annibal vtterly ſubdue the Romaynes: what will ye then thynke, that he will continue in your ſubiection, whiche in his cuntrey culd not ſuffre him ſelf to be in any obedience? Nay (ſaid he) he that in his youth hath euer coueted in his minde, to be Emperour of the hole worlde, will now in age neuer be contented, to be vnder the rule of any other, if he may choſe. Wherfore my cōſayl is, that ye haue no nede to make Annibal your capitain: But if it pleaſe you, ye may vſe his cōpany as your frēd in your iourney, takīg his aduiſe in your affayrs, as a prudēt counſailour, & none otherwiſe.

¶ This crafty and vntrew coūſail of Thoas, turned the kīges mynde cleane frome ſendynge of Annibal with any army into Affrica: which before was thoughte moſt mete and neceſſary.

Wherfore he prepared to sayl in to Grece, where by the help of the Etholiens he wanne certayn cities. At the last the consul M. Attilius, with an army of Romains, came to the socors of their frendes, and at the great mounteyne, whiche passethe throughe the myddle of Grece, fought with Antiochus, and put hym to flyght, sleyng al his host, except onely .v. C. which fled with the kyng.

¶ After whiche discomfiture, Antiochus, with Annibal, and his smalle nomber of men, that were lefte hym at the battayll, cam to the see, and toke shipping, and came to Ephesus, where he remayned, thynkyng hym selfe there to be sure oute of the daunger of the Romayns. And that he was perswaded to beleue, by many that were about him, gladde to please his mynd: as many suche dissemblers haue beene and shall be dayly about greatte princes. But onely Annibal aduysed the kynge, to prepare for the commynge of the Romaynes, sayenge, that he meruayled more, that they were not already arryued, rather then their commynge myghte be loked for. Shewynge him also, that the Romayns were as stronge and valiant vpon the see, as on the land: Not doubtyng, but shortely, they wold striue for the dominion of Asia, and that eyther he muste take from theim their Empire, or els he shuld be in dangier to lese his kyngdome. For he knewe, their desire was to be rulers ouer all the worlde, Counselynge him to loke for none other thyng at their handes. For in case he did, he shuld deceiue him self with his vayne and false hope.

¶ Not long after this beginnynge of the warres in Grece, L. Cornelius Scipio, and C. Lelius, were chooseu consulles. After whiche election, P. Scipio Affricanus offered the senate, that in case they would grant his brother, L. Scipio the countrey of Grece for his prouynce: he would gladly take the payne to go with him in his iourney. Wherunto the senate agreed, geuynge him also further auctoritie, to go into Asia, if he thought it expedient. Sayenge, they woulde nowe proue, whether Antiochus should be more holpen by the counsayl of Annibal, which was before vanquyshed: or the Romain consull and his army by the help of Scipio, that had before made the great conquest in Affrica. The armies and shippes were made ready, and the consull arriued in Grece, where sone receyuing many the rebell cities into his handes, he from thense

sayled

ſayled into Aſia: where, by the licence of the kynge Philyp, he had paſſage throughe Macedony and Trace, to the kyngdome of Antiochus.

¶ Dyuers battaylles were foughte vppon the ſea, betweene the Romayne nauy and Polixenidas, capitayne of the kynges ſhyppes: but euer the Romaynes had the victory, by the help of the kyng Eumenes, and alſo of the Rhodiens. At the laſte it chaunced, that the ſoonne of Scipio Affricanus was taken priſoner, and brought to Antiochus: who kepte him honorably and gentelly. And afterward, truſtyng to haue the frendſhyp of P. Scipio, and his healpe, for a peace to be made betwene the Romaynes and him: he ſente him home his ſonne, without payeng any raunſome for him. For when he perceyued the Romaynes to approche ſo nere vnto him, he thought it better to common of peace before the battayle, then after, truſtyng to haue more eaſy conditions of peace, if it were moued in tyme. But when the matter came in communication, betwene the conſulle and the kynges embaſſadours, the conditions of the peace were ſo ſore, that Antiochus refuſed to take theim, althoughe he were thervnto perſwaded by the letters of P. Scipio the Affricane. Wherevpon bothe partyes prepared theim to fyghte. The battayle was cruel, but at the laſt the kyng Antiochus was put to fyrght, and. liiii. M. of his footemen ſlayne, and of horſemen. iiii. M. beſydes .i. M. and iiii. C. that were taken pryſoners, with ſmall loſſe of the Romayns. Then ſent Antiochus eftſones his embaſſadours to the conſull for peace: which at lengthe, by meanes of P. Scipio Affricanus, was graunted him, vpon theſe conditions.

¶ Fyrſte that he ſhoulde frome thenſe foorthe no more make warre in Europe. Alſoo that he ſhoulde leaue the poſſeſſyons of all the cities landes and countreyes, whyche were on that ſyde the greatte mountayne, called Taurus. Agayne, he ſhoulde paye the Romaynes fyftene thouſande talentes in xii. yeres, and to pay vnto king Eumenes. iiii. hundred talentes, and a great quantitie of wheate. Upon theſe condytions he ſhoulde haue peace. Prouyded that Anniball, the authour of this warre, with Thoas, and dyuerſe other capytaynes and counſayllours, myghte bee delyuered vnto hym.

The kynge, beynge at this extreeme myſchyeffe, receyued the peace vppon the ſayde condytyons: and putte in for the

perfourmance therof pledges. The same peace also was after that confirmed by the senate of Rome.

¶ And so all thynges thus prosperously brought to passe, L. Scipio the consull returned to Rome, who was receyued into the citie with great honour and triumphe. And as his brother, of his victory in Affrica was named Affricanus: so was he of his conquestes in Asia, called Asiaticus, to the honour of his succession euer after.

¶ Annibball fleith to Prusias, the kyng of Bithynia, and howe he ended his lyfe. Cap. lxxiiii.

ANnibball, after the battayle begon betwene the Romains and Antiochus, wherin he was vanquished and fledde, mistrustinge (as it folowed after) that the kynge of necessitie must be dryuen to take peace, in whiche he feared, leste the Romaynes, bearyng to hym mortall malyce, wold require his delyuerie: thoughte to prouyde for hym selfe in tyme. Wherfore he incontinent fledde to Prusias, then kyng of Bithynia. Ne had not longe taryed there, but that T. Quintius Flaminius was sent from Rome to the kynge, shewinge hym, that the senatours thought, he delte not friendly with them, to kepe in his realme theyr great and capitall ennemy Annibal: a man that made fyrste his owne countrey to make warre with them, to the vttervndoinge of the same, and from thense came to Antiochus, and was autour also of his warre with the Romaynes, and nowe was repayred vnto hym, which he thought woulde tourne to his vndoinge. Prusias, wyllynge to gratyfy the Romaynes: deuysed, eyther to slee hym, or els to take and delyuer hym to Flaminius. Wheruppon incontinente the seruauntes of the kynge, and also of Flaminius, besette the house of Annibball rounde about, so that he coulde no waye issue out. Annibball, foreseinge the hatred that the Romaynes bare hym, and the small fayth of prynces: specially the lyghtnes of Prusias: he therfore, thynkynge to haue some waye to flie daungier, if nede required, had deuysed. vii. wayes and entrees into his house. Wherof certayne were very secrete and priuie. But the numbre was so great of men of armes, whiche were about his house: and the watche so straightly kept by the kynges commaundement, that where so euer he offered to issue,

he

he espyed embushementes of harneysed men. Then seinge his tyme of death to drawe nere, he called for poyson, whiche he longe tyme had ke[illegible]hym, and had euer redy for suche chaunces, and sayde: Nowe wyll I delyuer the Romaynes of great thought, that they haue longe tyme taken, to bringe me to confusion. For althoughe I be nowe olde, yet they thynke it longe before I dye. But of this deathe, bothe they and Flaminius theyr legate shal haue small victory. Then blaming the detestable falshede of Prusias, that so cruelly wolde suffer the murther of his friend, whom he had receyued into his keping: he drunke the empoysoned drinke, and sone after dyed.

¶ This was the lamentable ende of the ryght wyse noble and valyaunte capytayne Annibal, in a straunge region, exiled and banyshed from his owne natiue countrey. Aboute which time, or not longe before, the worthye Romayne Scipio Affricanus also dyed: whom the Romaynes, after his manyfold benefites to them shewed, recompenced with detestable ingratitude, certayne of the citie beinge his ennemies (as no man in authoritie can escape enuye) charged hym with the olde matier, betwene Fleminius and the Locrenses. Wherin (they sayde) he being consul was corrupted with money. And therfore ministred not iustice. Agayne, they layde agaynst hym, the delyuerye of his sonne, beinge prisoner with Antiochus, withoute raunsome: whiche they thoughte was very suspecious. For these smalle causes was he called before the Senate, and as though he had ben a meane persone, put to aunswere with extremitie: without fauour, or hauynge any respecte to his noble actes, done for the common weale. Whiche ingratitude he toke so displesantly, that departynge out of the court, he went into the countreye, to the towne of Lytarne, where he dwelled as long as he lyued, exilynge hym selfe from Rome for euer. And at his deathe, he commaunded his body to be buried there also: that his bones myght not rest in an vnkynde countrey.

¶ Thus were. ii. of the worthyest cities of the worlde found vnkynde to theyr noble rulers and capytaynes, and both about one tyme. Carthage banyshed Annibal, after that he was vanquished. Rome exiled Scipio, that had vanquished all her ennemies. Wherin she was of the twayne more to be blamed of ingratitude.

FINIS.

Londini.

IN ædibus Thomæ Bertheleti regii impreſſoris typis excuſum.

ANNO VERBI INCARNATI.
M. D. XLIIII.

CVM PRIVILEGIO AD IMPRIMENDVM SOLVM.

